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New Shakspere Society.
Series I.

Transactions

OF THE

New Shakspere Society, 1880-5.

PART II.

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THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S

TRANSACTIONS.

1880-5.

PART II.

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XIII. SHAKSPERE AND EUPHUISM. *EUPHUES* AN ADAPTATION FROM GUEVARA.

BY DR. F. LANDMANN.

(*Read at the 76th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Feb.* 10, 1882.)

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§ 1. JOHN LYLY's influence as a dramatic writer upon Shakspere is now universally acknowledged. There is none of all the predecessors of our great poet that was in comedy the master of our great Master in such a degree as the author of *Euphues.* Lyly's nine plays, all written before 1589, were very popular when Shakspere began to write, and it is to them that he owes so much in the liveliness of his dialogues, in smartness of expression, and especially in that predilection for witticisms, quibbles, and playing upon words which he shows in his comedies as well as in his tragedies and historical plays.(1) Seven of Lyly's comedies were written in prose, and exhibit mostly the same style as his *Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit,* 1578. That Shakspere was quite familiar with this curious book has been proved by Rushton, and is a matter of course, considering the popularity which it gained, so that it was printed eight times during Shakspere's life. This was principally due to the fact that Lyly did not merely introduce by his novel the style which we call 'Euphuism,' but that he adopted one of the fashionable extravagances already existing, and caused this particular affectation to become the universal manner of courtly conversation, so that "all our Ladies were then his Schollers; and that Beautie in Court which could not parley Euphueisme was as little regarded as

she which now there speaks not French," as Ed. Blount remarks in 1632. I say that it was one of those fashionable extravagances; and I wish at once to make a distinction between Euphuism and some other analogous affectations, all of which were the offspring of a too servile imitation of foreign contemporary or ancient literature, but differed altogether from each other in their characteristic elements. Indirectly we must of course trace all these affectations of exuberant fancy and imagination to the revival of classical literature in Europe. In every country—in Italy as well as in Spain, France, Germany, and England—we find, after the beginning of the sixteenth century, the same contempt of the "base vulgar," the same servile imitation and translation of the masters of antiquity, as the first sign of a new literary era; and, as the second, the desire to hear finer speech than the native language will allow. We very soon find in every country the high priests of refined speech trying to correct the vulgar tongue after the Latin and Greek or foreign contemporary languages. In every foreign literature of that time we find a representative of an exaggerated hyperbolical style or quaint metaphorical diction, who has stamped this extravagant taste with his name, although he only followed the tendency common to the whole civilized world up to the middle of the seventeenth century. In Spain we have Guevara's *alto estilo*, and later on, the *estilo culto* of Gongora; in Italy the conceits of the Petrarchists, and Marini and the Marinists: in France we meet Ronsard and his school, Dubartas and the Précieuses.

> "Marot et de Mornay pour le langage François :
> Pour l'Espaignol Guevare, Boccace pour le Toscan :
> Et le gentil Sleidan refait l'Allemand :
> Greene et Lylli tous deux raffineurs de l'Anglais."—JOHN ELIOT, 1588.

In England John Lyly is decidedly the most gifted author that followed this tendency of his age, and the hero of his novel has given the name to that style which Lyly adopted; but, using this term, we must bear in mind that 'Euphuism' is only one of many eccentricities, all of them due indirectly to the same tendency, tho' individually different, and showing different elements altogether.

Euphues is a book written for ladies and for the court of Queen Elizabeth. It is a most important coincidence of circumstances that,

just when the literary life in England began to be stirred for the first time, not only in an exclusive set of people, but in the wider circle of educated men and women, a Woman stood in the centre of that society, which always sets the fashion, not only for the court, but also for the most eminent representatives of the nation. This involved a great influence on taste in general; and the peculiarities of this taste we are able to study now-a-days only in the literature belonging to that period. The *politesse* of gentlemen towards ladies was certainly not always artificial and affected; there is much nature and delicate feeling in many of those Elizabethan sonnets, and much wit in the conversational intercourse of this period, but it was overdrawn, and became affected from different causes. The influence of the antique was yet fresh; it was only an outward acquisition; and the adoption of this new world of ideas was at first only a very mechanical imitation, and must have been a very superficial one, because a critical study of the classical world was then impossible. When we see how classical mythology was abused to furnish flattering comparisons to the queen's loveliness, in what an absurd manner the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome had to kneel before the all-surpassing beauty of Queen Bess, how porters and pies had to appear in an antique shape, we can understand it all by the tendency of the Renascence. That the sovereign of England, just about this time, was a woman, appears to me a very important fact, not only for the formation of the taste governing society, but for the whole development of literature and language. I don't only mean the gross adulation of poets and writers, but an element which we find at its height in the society connected with the Elizabethan court—the cultivation of a finer language in the presence of ladies. If we look for the greatest extravagances and the greatest mischief done in these times in taste, diction, and style, we always find it in connection with the works written for ladies, written on the beauty of the fair sex, written with intent to show a dainty wit to the delicate mind. The cause of this was certainly not a want of genuine imagination, but an exuberance of fancy and a tendency misled for a time, until a stronger mind arose to smile at the surrounding eccentricities. Besides, we must bear in mind that

Elizabeth's was a time of revolution for the poetical world, and that those unaffected by it directly, decidedly owe much to the stirring influence of it. There sprang up a rage to create a startling diction, and a new style surpassing everything in existence; and the influence of this tendency on the development of the English language was certainly very great. It was a leap leading first into mistakes and errors, but not without its happy result when cool reason and common sense gained the upper hand again. Another very important influence on this taste was exerted by the much greater facility with which new things, new ideas, new works, were made known to the reading and writing public. The intellectual intercourse of the different European nations was suddenly augmented by the invention of printing. We note its influence at once in the fact that the sixteenth century was the first century in which the art of translation flourished excessively. Thus foreign literatures, which showed similar eccentricities at this time, helped very much to strengthen the English deviation in taste and style. We find the complaints of this outlandish fashion in manners, dress, and diction, as well in Wilson, Ascham, and Puttenham as in Lyly and Shakspere. But besides this, the discovery of new worlds, with all their treasures and new things, gave a new impulse and stir to fiction. Thus we can explain the favour with which Lyly's fabulous natural philosophy was met, only by the circumstance that these things were then commonly believed, since his wonders did not exceed those which were related by adventurous navigators.

§ 2. The four Styles parodied in *Love's Labour's Lost.*

Shakspere's *Love's Labour's Lost* we may call the English *Précieuses ridicules*, because Shakspere in this play evidently breaks with the fashionable extravagances of taste flourishing about that time at the Elizabethan court and in good society. If we suppose this play written about 1589, we have just the time when that sickness—as noble Sidney called it, of which he himself, as well as his fellows, felt sick—was at its height, but when Euphuism was already declining. But in *Love's Labour's Lost* not only one particular affectation is ridiculed, but four different extravagances of speech, of the first of which, Don Adriano de Armado, of the second, the king

and his courtiers, and of the third and fourth, the pedantic schoolmaster Holofernes, are the representatives.

I. That in Armado Shakspere ridicules—shortly after the defeat of the Spanish Armada—a Spaniard, is not to be attributed to his intention to ridicule *Euphues*, although, as I shall soon show, Euphuism took its origin in Spain, and was the style of a very popular Spanish author. Those elements which Armado exhibits in his speech are essentially different from Lyly's peculiar style.

The king says of Armado (I. i. 163-179)—

> "——our court, you know, is haunted
> With a refined traveller of Spain;
> A man in all the world's new fashion planted,
> That hath a mint of phrases in his brain:
> One who the music of his own vain tongue
> Doth ravish, like enchanting harmony;
> A man of complements, whom right and wrong
> Have chose as umpire of their mutiny:
> This child of fancy, that Armado hight,
> For interim to our studies, shall relate,
> In high-born words, the worth of many a knight
> From tawny Spain, lost in the world's debate.
> How you delight, my lords, I know not, I;
> But, I protest, I love to hear him lie,
> And I will use him for my minstrelsy.
> *Biron.* Armado is a most illustrious wight,
> A man of fire-new words, fashion's own knight."

Armado's bombastic style is best seen in the letter which he wrote to the king in I. i. 221-280—

"Great deputy, the welkin's vicegerent, and sole dominator of Navarre, my soul's earth's God, and body's fostering patron,—So it is, besieged with sable-coloured melancholy, I did commend the black-oppressing humour to the most wholesome physic of thy health-giving air; and, as I am a gentleman, betook myself to walk. The time when? About the sixth hour; when beasts most graze, birds best peck, and men sit down to that nourishment which is called supper. So much for the time when: Now for the ground which; which, I mean, I walked upon: it is yclept thy park. Then for the place where; where, I mean, I did encounter that obscene and most preposterous event, that draweth from my snow-white pen the ebon-coloured ink, which here thou viewest, beholdest, surveyest, or seest: But to the place where,—It standeth north-north-east and by east from the west corner of thy curious-knotted garden. There did I see that low-spirited swain, that base minnow of thy mirth, that unletter'd small-knowing soul, that shallow vassal, which as I remember hight Costard sorted, and consorted, contrary to thy established proclaimed edict and continent canon, with—with,—O with—but with this I passion to say wherewith—with a child of our grandmother Eve, a female; or, for thy more sweet understanding, a woman. Him I (as my ever-esteemed duty pricks me on) have sent to thee, to receive the meed of punishment, by thy sweet grace's officer, Antony Dull; a man of good repute, carriage,

bearing, and estimation. For Jaquenetta, (so is the weaker vessel called, which I apprehended with the aforesaid swain), I keep her as a vessel of thy law's fury; and shall, at the least of thy sweet notice, bring her to trial. Thine, in all compliments of devoted and heart-burning heat of duty,—DON ADRIANO DE ARMADO."

High-flown words, bombastic quaintness, hyperbolical diction, far-fetched expressions for simple plain words, form the main ingredients of the inflated style of this boasting Spanish knight. He does not 'laugh,' but 'the heaving of his lungs provokes him to ridiculous smiling'; he speaks of "the posteriors of the day, which the rude multitude call the afternoon." These are no elements of Euphuism; besides, we know that such a Monarcho, a mad Italian, was quite a popular person, whom Barnaby Rich, in his *Adventures of Brusanus*,—published in 1592, but written eight or nine years before this date,—had ridiculed in Gloriosus, where we find in chapter xii. the following passage:

"Gloriosus accuseth Castus.

"'I shall not neede (gratious Prince) to traveil much by circumstances, or use many wordes, to make my proofe the better against this wretched worme of the worlde, my credite beeing such here in the court, the testimony might seem sufficient, that Gloriosus having spoken the word, it should not bee gainesayde: to come to the purpose, as mine eare then glowed to heare, so my hart now panteth to thinke, what hatefull speeches were pronounced by this unhappy man Castus, so exclaiming of the lawyers, so cryinge out against the maiestrate, so slaunderinge of them both, as though there were neither law nor iustice to be hadd within the whole dominions of Epirus.'"

That this boasting bombast has nothing to do with Euphuism, we shall see soon.

II. The king himself and the courtiers, as well as the ladies, exhibit a style and taste entirely different from that of Armado. They pour their love into dainty sonnets; and sharp repartees, witticisms, and word combats show their conceit. Biron says of Boyet (V. ii. 315-16)—

> "This fellow pecks up wit, as pigeons peas,
> And utters it again when Jove doth please."

And he confesses openly of himself (V. ii. 394-413)—

> "Thus pour the stars down plagues for perjury.
> Can any face of brass hold longer out?—
> Here stand I, lady; dart thy skill at me;
> Bruise me with scorn, confound me with a flout;
> Thrust thy sharp wit quite through my ignorance;
> Cut me to pieces with thy keen conceit;
> And I will wish thee never more to dance,

Nor never more in Russian habit wait.
O! never will I trust to speeches penn'd,
Nor to the motion of a schoolboy's tongue;
Nor never come in visor to my friend;
Nor woo in rhyme, like a blind harper's song:
Taffata phrases, silken terms precise,
Three-pil'd hyperboles, spruce affectation,
Figures pedantical; these summer-flies
Have blown me full of maggot ostentation:
I do forswear them: and I here protest,
By this white glove, (how white the hand, God knows!)
Henceforth my wooing mind shall be exprest
In russet yeas, and honest kersey noes."

Shakspere ridicules here the spruce affectation of the English courtier, and the love-sick sonneteers of his age. Although all these passages do not exhibit that peculiar element which Lyly's Euphuism shows, we find here a much greater resemblance to the Euphuistic tendency to play with words and witty conceits which Lyly had adopted in his court plays. This predilection for conceited and metaphorical diction is principally due to the influence of Italian literature, and was, after Surrey's time, a common fault in the diction of poetry. Puttenham and Sidney censured it, but could not help following it themselves. The latter very justly remarks—

"You that do search for every perling spring
Which from the ribs of old Parnassus flows,
And evry flower, not sweet perhaps, which grows
Near there abouts, into our Poesie ring,
You that do Dictionary's method bring
Into our rhymes, running in rattling rows:
You that poor Petrarch's long deceased woes
With new born sighs and denizen'd wit do sing,
You take wrong wayes, those far-fetched helps be such
As do bewray a want of inward touch,
And sure at length stoll'n goods do come to light."

The direct influence of Petrarca and his followers on the diction of English poetry can be best seen in Tottel's *Miscellany*, in the *Paradise of dainty Devices*, and in Watson's *Hekatompathia*. Surrey was the first to introduce Petrarca's metaphorical diction, and we note its influence distinctly in two formal points, *i. e.* in trivial metaphors, personifications, and hyperboles, and a predilection for epithets generally alliterating with their noun, which occur alike in almost every writer's devices. Expressions like "cloud of dark disdaine" were not familiar to the English poets before Surrey, but after

him we find these trivial expressions repeated everywhere and abused. So we find always,—"Cloud of envie, stormes of teares, a sea of wofull sorrowes, blast of black defame, chaynes of care, deadly droppes of dark disdaine, restless rage of deep devouryng hell, ground of great griefe, ragyng stormes of care, showers of tears." These were in Surrey's case simple translations from Petrarca's "*pioggia di lagrimar, nebbia di sdegni.*" Apt epithets with every noun were then indispensable, as "sobbing sighs, scalding sighs, smokie sighes, stormy sighes, cloudy thoughts, hollow hart, harmfull helish hart, silly soul, suttle soul, silly simple soul, worldly wight, worthy wight, wanton wight, wretched wight, wofull wight, glaunzing gloze, doleful day, doutfull dying dolefull Dame, filthy froward fate, willfull will, grievous griefe, happie hap, highest happie hap, precious praise, lovelie love, lothsome life, wretched woe, wofull ease."

That the whole manner and style of Petrarca's school, the display and detailed description of a very often merely fictitious love—sickness was closely copied, up to the end of this century, is too well known. It reigned at the Elizabethan court, and it is this exaggerated diction of the fictitiously love-sick poets which Shakspere ridicules in these courtiers, besides their witticisms and spruce affectation in conversation.

III. The third representative of another literary eccentricity of Shakspere's times, which we find in *Love's Labour's Lost*, is the pedantic schoolmaster Holofernes. When Dull maintains that the killed deer was "not a *haud credo*, but a pricket," he exclaims (IV. ii. 13-20),—

> Most barbarous intimation! yet a kind of insinuation, as it were, *in via*, in way, of explication; *facere*, as it were, replication, or, rather, *ostentare*, to show, as it were, his inclination,—after his undressed, unpolished, uneducated, unpruned, untrained, or rather, unlettered, or, ratherest, unconfirmed fashion,—to insert again my *haud credo* for a deer."

Shakspere ridicules here very humorously the pedantic scholar of his day, the Latin-English which was quite a fashion in court, just like French- and Italian-English were. Puttenham in 1589 calls this mingle mangle *Soraismus*, and complains very much that they 'are daily spoke in court'; and Wilson had already censured

this affectation as early as 1553, when he gave in his *Art of Rhetorique*, "such a letter as William Sommer himself could not make a better for that purpose," beginning,—

"Ponderyng expendyng and revolutyng with myself your ingent affabilitee and ingenious capacitee, for mundane affaires: I cannot but celebrate and extolle your magnificall dexterite, above all other."

Sidney's Rombus shows the same style, but he, as well as Shakspere, ridicules in the same person not only this dog Latin, but also the mania for alliteration.

Rombus, in the *Lady of the May*, addresses the Queen in the following terms :—

"Now the thunder-thumping Jove transfund his dotes into your excellent formosity, which have, with your resplendent beams, thus segregated the enmity of these rural animals: I am, *potentissima domina*, a Schoolmaster; that is to say, a Pedagogue, one not a little versed in the disciplinating of the juvenile fry, wherein (to my laud I say it) I use such geometrical proportion as neither wanted mansuetude nor correction: for so it is described, *Parcare subiectos et debellire superbos*. Yet has not the pulchritude of my virtues protected me from the contaminating hands of these Plebeians; for coming *solum modo*, to have parted their sanguinolent fray, they yielded me no more reverence than if I had been some *pecorius asinus*. I, even I, that am, who am I? *Dixi verbus sapiento: satum est*. But what said that Trojan Æneas, when he soiourn'd in the surging sulks of the sandiferous seas? *Hæc olim memonasse juvebit*. Well, well, *ad propositos revertebo*. The purity of the verity is, that certain *pulcra puella profecto*, elected and constituted by the integrated determination of all this topographical region, as the Sovereign Lady of this dame May's month, hath been *quodammodo*, hunted, as you would say; pursued by two, a brace, a couple, a cast of young men, to whom the crafty coward Cupid had, *inquam*, delivered his dire dolorous dart."

This too is no element of Euphuism. Lyly's style is free from Latin and foreign-English, nor does he indulge in Latin quotations.

IV. Besides this affectation, Shakspere ridicules in Holofernes the abuse of alliteration, when he says (IV. ii. 56-8),—

"I will something affect the letter, for it argues facility.
The praiseful princess pierc'd and prick'd a pretty pleasing pricket."

In *Henry IV.* and *V.* Pistol affects this "fault of our common rhymers" in the same manner, speaking of "grievous ghastly gaping wounds," and "giddy fortune's furious fickle wheel." It is the complaint of almost every sound writer of the sixteenth century, "this hunting the letter of the rake-helly rout of our ragged Rhymers," even Puttenham not allowing more than three alliterating words in the same line.

But is not alliteration one of the main elements of Euphuism?

It is, indeed. Lyly at least indulges in this kind of alliteration, likewise in conceits and trivial metaphors, very frequently, just as much as Shakspere does, and as all his contemporaries do: he follows the common fault; but—this is the difference of Euphuism from every other affected style—he applies it in a very peculiar artificial way.

§ 3. Characteristics of Euphuism, and Shakspere's parody of it.

There is a passage in *Henry IV.* where Shakspere ridicules a fashionable literary affectation, different from all and each of the four that we have spoken of hitherto. I must quote the whole passage, because this is the only one where Shakspere purposely ridicules Euphuism. Falstaff, as king, says to the prince in 1 *Henry IV.* II. iv. 438-461—

"Peace, good pint-pot! peace, good tickle-brain!—Harry, I do not only marvel where thou spendest thy time, but also how thou art accompanied: for though the camomile, the more it is trodden, the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is *w*asted the sooner it *w*ears. That thou art my son, I have partly thy mother's word, partly my own opinion; but chiefly, a villainous trick of thine eye, and a foolish hanging of thy nether lip, that doth warrant me. If, then, thou be son to me, here lieth the point;—Why, being son to me, art thou so pointed at? Shall the blessed *sun* of heaven prove a micher, and eat blackberries? a question not to be asked. Shall the *son* of England prove a thief, and take purses? a question to be asked. There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of, and it is known to many in our land by the name of pitch: this pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile; so doth the company thou keepest: for, Harry, now I do not speak to thee in *d*rink, but in *t*ears; not in *p*leasure, but in *p*assion; not in *w*ords only, but in *w*oes also:—And yet there is a virtuous man, whom I have often noted in thy company, but I know not his name."

We have here that peculiar parisonic antithesis, with transverse alliteration, which forms the main ingredient of Euphuism. There is no page in *Euphues* where we do not find that predilection for an equal number of words in collateral or antithetical sentences, well balanced often to the number of syllables, the corresponding words being pointed out by alliteration, consonance, or ryme.

Some examples from *Euphues* will show this clearly.

Euphues says to Eubulus, p. 40,—

"Father and friend (your age sheweth the one, your honestie the other), I am neither so *s*uspitious to *mis*trust your good wil, nor so *s*ottish to *mis*like your good counsayle, as I am *th*erfore to *th*anke you for the first, so it standes me upon to *thi*nke better on the latter: I meane not to *c*avil with you, as one

loving *s*ophistrie: neither to *c*ontrowle you, as one having *s*uperioritie; the one woulde bring my talke into the suspition of *f*raude, the other convince me of *f*olly.—We *m*erry, you *m*elancholy: we *zealous* in affection, you *iealous* in all your doings: you *testie* without *c*ause, we *hastie* for no *q*uarrell: you *c*arefull, we *c*arelesse: we bolde, you fearefull: we in all poynts contrary unto you, and yee in all poynts unlyke unto us."

Or Philautus to Euphues:—

"Although hitherto, Euphues, I have *sh*rined thee in my *h*eart for a *tr*ustie *f*riende, I will *sh*unne thee *h*ereafter as a *tr*othlesse *f*oe," or, "he *w*ooeth *w*omen, *pr*ovoked by youth, but *w*eddeth not himselfe to *w*antonnesse as *pr*icked by *p*leasure."

The same we find in the above cited passage—"For, Harry, now I do not speak to thee in drink, but in tears; not in *p*leasure, but in *p*assion, not in *w*ords only, but in *w*oes also"; and before, "Harry, I do not only marvel where thou spendest thy time, but also how thou art accompanied: for though the camomile, the more it is trodden, the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is *w*asted the sooner it *w*ears."

In the latter sentence we find the second characteristic of Euphuism ridiculed directly, *i. e.* Lyly's predilection for comparisons taken from nature.

Lyly says, p. 46,—

"Too much studie doth intoxicate their braines, for (say they) although yron, the more it is used, the brighter it is, yet silver with much *wearing* doth *wast* to nothing: though the Cammocke, the more it is bowed, the better it serveth, yet the bow, the more it is bent and occupied, the weaker it waxeth: *though the Camomill, the more it is troden and pressed downe, the more it spreadeth*, yet the Violet, the oftner it is handeled and touched, the sooner it withereth and decayeth."

The author of *Euphues* frequently uses that "unnatural Natural Philosophy," indulging in the fabulous qualities of stones, herbs, and beasts. He took it from Pliny, his passages being often verbal translations.

Lyly's book labours, from beginning to end, under an oppressing load of examples and allusions to ancient history and mythology, as well as apophthegms from ancient writers. Shakspere very humorously ridicules this third principal element of Euphuism by saying,—

"There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of, and it is known to many in our land by the name of pitch: this pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile; so doth the company thou keepest."

I will not analyse here in detail Euphuism and its elements; this has been done admirably by Dr. Weymouth in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1870-72, and I could only repeat what I

wrote a year ago in my *Euphuismus* (Giessen). The three features just pointed out are the main ingredients of the style: where we find this parisonic antithesis with transverse alliteration and consonance, these endless comparisons from nature, and that predilection for allusions and examples from ancient mythology, history and literature, we may say we have Euphuism.

§ 4. Euphuism Adapted from the Spaniard Guevara.

This curious style, which we find in prose only, was in vogue in England from about 1560 to 1590. It was not, as is usually stated, introduced or invented by John Lyly in his *Euphues*. *Euphues* had its predecessors, and Euphuism is not of original English growth, nor introduced from Italy, as is now the common opinion. Sir Thomas North published in 1557 his first work, a translation of a Spanish fictitious biography of Marcus Aurelius, written by Don Antonio de Guevara, who in 1529 published the original, *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio emperador: y eloquentissimo orator*, just fifty years before the publication of the *Euphues*. North was not the first to english this book, famous throughout the world during the beginning of the sixteenth century on account of its morals, and more especially on account of its style. It had been first translated into English by Lord Berners in 1532, and had seen a long series of reprints. Nor were Berners and North the only admirers of the Spanish Archbishop's *alto estilo* in England. Hellowes, Fenton, Bryant, and Thimme had been busy in introducing this high sweet style, by translating the entire series of Guevara's other works into English. Of Berners's translation alone there are more than a dozen different editions known. Thus we have six different translators, during forty years: a circumstance that involves a serious influence on the prose of any nation, if the translated style be notorious for its highness and sweetness. Guevara continually boasts of his *alto estilo*, saying that he was the first Castilian writer who wrote such a style, and that it was his own invention. This we have no reason to doubt. He was not only famous for it in Spain, but most of his works saw many translations into Italian, French, and German.

Berners says of this book,—

"A ryght precious meate is the sentences of this booke. But finally the sauce of the sayd sweete style moveth the appetite. Many bookes there be of substantiall meates, but they be so rude and so unsavory, and the style of so smalle grace, that the first morcell is lothsome and noyfull."

And Thimme, in the preface to *A looking Glasse for the Court*, first translated by Bryant, says of Guevara,—

"Whose pithie reasons, fyled speache
And sugred wordes dyd move
A worthie knight of English Court,
Whom Henry kyng did love,
Fyrst to translate from Forraine phraise
Into our moderne tongue."

And in the same way Sir Thomas North praises this high style in the preface to his translation,—

"The which is so full of high doctrine, so adourned with auncient histories, so authorised with grave sentences, and so beautified with apte similitudes, that I knowe not whose eies in reading it can be weried, nor whose eares in hearing it not satisfied."

The most prominent characteristic of Guevara's style is the parallelism of sentences, parisonic antithesis, well-balanced juxta- or contra-position of words and clauses; and he has a predilection for pointing out the corresponding words by consonance or rhyme. There is no chapter in Guevara's books where these twin phrases do not at once strike the eye; they form the most prominent feature in Guevara's and Lyly's style. We do not, of course, find alliteration here, nor in any other Spanish writer, as we find it in English, because the Romance languages do not know it as English and German do, where it stood for ryme in early poetry. In North's translation of the enlarged *Marco Aurelio con reloj*, which bears the title *The Dial of Princes*, the Prologue begins,—

"The greatest vanitye that I fynde in the world is, that vayne men are not only content to be vaine in their life: but also procure to leve a memory of their vanity after their death.—Many of the world are so fleshed in the world, that although it forsaketh them in deedes: yet they wyl not forsake it in theyr desires. For the remembrance of the pleasure past greatly augmenteth the paines present."

But I will quote an example in Spanish and English,—

"No hay oy generoso señor ni delicada señora que antes no suffriesse una ped*rada* en la cabeça que no una cuchill*ada* en la fama, porque la herida de la cabeça en un mes se la daran sana: mas la manzilla de la fama no saldra en toda su vida."

"There is not at this daye so greate or noble a Lorde, nor Lady so delicate, but had rather suffer a blowe on the head with a stone, than a blot in their good name with an evil tongue. For the wounde of the heade in a moneth or two maye well be healed; but the blemishe of their good name during life will never be removed."

Often we find examples of elaborate antithesis like the following:—

"El dia que una es publicada por hermosa, desde aquel dia la tienen todos en requesta. *Ellos* trabaj*ando* de la *servir* y *ellas* no rehus*ando* de *ser vistas*."

Or—

"Aunque quieras no puedes escapar de mi señorio. Porque si tu te quexas de ser desdichado en dichas: yo me precio de ser dichoso en desdichas. Pregunta te una cosa. Quando me viste harto estando tu hambriento? Quando yo dormia estando tu velando? Quando tu trabajavas estando yo holgando? Por cierto aun que las personas y haziendas eran proprias, los trabajos y desdichas siempre fueron comunes. Una cosa has de hazer si en mi amistad has de perseverar: que mis bienes sean tuyos, y tus males sean mios: pues tu naciste para regalo, y yo bivo para trabajo, y esto no lo digo fingido pues tu lo has en mi experimentado" (cap. lxv.).

Or (cap. xlii.)—

"Por cierto el hombre moço no es mas que un cuchillo nuevo, el qual por discurso de tiempo un dia se mella en los sentidos: otro dia se despunta en el juyzio, oy pierde el azero de las fuerças, mañana le toma el orin de las enfermedades, agora se tuerce con adversidades, agora se embota con prosperidades: quando de muy agudo salta por rico quando de muy gastado no corta por pobre: finalmente muchas vezes acontesce, que quanto mas con regalos el filo se haze delgado tanto mas le pone la vida en peligro."

The second main element of Euphuism, the long rows of comparisons taken from nature, we find in Guevara's book exactly as in Lyly's, the former, however, not using Pliny's fabulous natural philosophy, but introducing his plants and beasts with their real qualities.

Thus Marcus Aurelius says (cap. x., appendix),—

"Of trouth, ye amorous dames, ye have tongues of the nature of fire, and your condicions like the pouder of a rotten tree. Accordyng to the dyversity of beasts, so nature hath in divers parts of the body placed their strength: as the Eagle in her byl, y^{e} Unicorne in the horne, the serpent in the taile, the bul in the head, the beare in his pawes, the horse in the breast, the dogge in the teath, the bore in the tuske, the doves in the winges, and the women in their tongues. For of trouth the flight of the dove is not so hyghe as the fantasy of your foolyshness is vaine; the cat scratcheth not so sore with her nayles, as ye scratch the folish men with your importunities. The dogge hurteth not hym so much that he runneth after, as ye do y^{e} sorowful lover that serveth you; the life of him is not in so much daunger that catcheth the bul by the hornes, as the fame of him that falleth in your hands. To conclude, the serpent hath not so much poyson in his taile as ye have in your tongues."

The third principal feature of Euphuism, the predilection for ancient mythology and history, we may more readily excuse in Guevara's book, because his hero is a Roman emperor, and his principal source Plutarch. This style soon crept, through the different translations, into English prose. It was modified, however, in its English dress by alliteration, and its elements were gradually so abused that it was, when it fell into Lyly's hands, no more imitation, but the grossest possible exaggeration. We find its influence even in Roger Ascham's style. In his *Schoolmaster*, 1571, he defines Euphues in the following terms :—

"Euphues is he, that is *apt* by good*ness* of *wit* and *ap*pliable by the readi*ness* of *will* to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body, that must another day serve learning;—and even as a fair stone requires to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it loseth much of the grace and price, even so excellency in learning, and namely [= especially] divinity joined with a comely personage, is a marvellous jewel in the world."

Ascham's style is, however, pure and unaffected, and such passages are quite the exception.

Three years before the publication of *Euphues* appeared *A petite Pallace of Pettie his pleasure*, by George Pettie, exhibiting already, to the minutest detail, all the specific elements of Euphuism. The novel of 'Sinorix and Camma,' the first of the tales contained in this little volume, we find in Guevara's book, who took it from Plutarch.(2)

But this is not all; Euphuism is not only adapted from Guevara's *alto estilo*, but *Euphues* itself, as to its contents, is a mere imitation of Guevara's enlarged biography of Marcus Aurelius englisht by Thomas North. The *Dial of Princes* and Lyly's *Euphues* exhibit the same style. They coincide in their contents in many points, and both show the same dissertations on the same subjects. In both works are letters affixed at the end, and these letters treat of the same matter. In both occur the same persons, and some of these persons bear the same name.

There is not much of a plot in either work; the principal contents of each are long dialogues, soliloquies, and moral dissertations on love and ladies, God, friendship, courtship, youth and education, court and country.

The heroine of Lyly's *Euphues*, Lucilla, daughter of Ferardo, is a very fickle, light-minded lady; so is Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, whose light behaviour induces Guevara to bring in a long chapter "Of the sharpe wordes which Marcus Aurelius spoke to his wyfe and to his daughter;" the same does Ferardo, the father of Lucilla, "who, with watrye eyes, and a woeful heart, began on this manner to reason with his daughter" (pp. 101-4). Guevara has in the first book of the *Dial of Princes* some five chapters on God:—

Chap. 4: "Of the excellencye of the Christian religion (whereby the true God is known), and of the vanities of the auncientes in tymes past." Chap. 9: "Of the true and living God, and of the marvailes he wroughte in the olde lawe to manifest his divine power, and of the superstition of the false gods." Chap. 10: "That there is but one true God, and howe that realme is happie whyche hathe a kyng that is a good Christian." Chap. 11: "Of sundrie gods." Chap. 12: "Of other more naturall and peculiar goddes." Lyly therefore suddenly introduces Atheos, and tries to prove the existence of God in some twenty pages (p. 160. *ss.*).

Marcus Aurelius writes a letter to his nephew Epesipo, who leads a bad life in the University of Athens. Euphues therefore writes a letter "to a young gentleman in Naples named Alcius, who, leaving his study, followeth all lightnesse, and lived both shamefully and sinfully, to the griefe of his friends and discredite of the universitie" (p. 190), and a very sharp letter (p. 157) "to the Gentlemen Schollers in Athens."

The second book of the *Dial* is an imitation of Plutarch's book *de educatione puerorum*, "wherein the Authoure treateth, howe Princes and greate Lordes shoulde behave themselves towardes theyr wyves. And howe they ought to noryshe and bringe up their children." Lyly therefore brings in "Euphues and Ephoebus," with chapters, "That the child should be true born, no bastard. How the life of a young man should be led; of the education of youth," following Plutarch verbally (pp. 123-159).

Marcus Aurelius writes a letter to a gentleman, Domicio, and another one to Torquado, to comfort them in their banishment, this

being another adaptation from Plutarch's book *De exilio*. Lyly therefore brings in a letter "Euphues to Botonio, to take his exile patiently," being almost verbally translated from Plutarch. Marcus Aurelius writes a very sharp letter "To the enamoured Ladies of Rome," inveighing against the fair sex. Euphues therefore has "A cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond lovers," being a very sharp invective against the frailties of women. Marcus Aurelius apologises for his invective, stating that he did not mean all, but only the frivolous ladies. Lyly therefore brings in a letter "To the grave Matrones and honest Maidens of Italy," apologising in the same manner. Guevara has letters of the emperor Marcus Aurelius to the ladies Macrina, Boemia, and Livia, with the answers of these ladies. Lyly therefore has "Euphues to his friend Livia," and "Livia from the Emperour's court to Euphues at Athens," up to which chapter we have heard nothing of an Emperor, whom Lyly, quite unconsciously it seems, here mentions, thinking evidently of the hero of Guevara's book.

The fourth book of the *Dial of Princes* was translated by North from another of Guevara's works—*Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos*, "A looking Glasse for Courtiers." Lyly therefore suddenly abandons, in the second part, his tale of Euphues and his England, and introduces a courtier Fidus, living as a bee-keeper in the country, who tells the tale of his love, and how it came that he preferred life in the country to life at court; following also the ideas which Guevara had put down in his *Monosprecio de corte y Alabança de aldea*, translated by Bryant and Thimme under the title, "A looking glass for the court, or a Dispraise of the life of the Courtier, and a commendacion of the life of the husbandman." The second part of *Euphues* is a book on court life and courtiership in general, and is brought to an end with a eulogy on the Elizabethan court. When Euphues at the end withdraws from the world, he writes his letter from the Mount Silexedra, because Marcus Aurelius wrote from the Mount Celio, one of the hills of Rome.

Often we cannot see in Lyly's book at all whether he writes for the time of Marcus Aurelius or that of Queen Elizabeth. In his first part he speaks of the Emperor, the Empresse, and their court;

in the second he openly brings in Elizabeth and the Elizabethan court, dropping the Emperor altogether. Likewise he brings in Roman and Italian ladies, Lucilla, Livia, Camilla, bearing the same names in Guevara's book—Lucilla daughter of the Emperor, Livia the love of Marcus Aurelius, and Camilla a Roman lady.

The University of Athens and scholars of Athens in Guevara's book suit very well the whole period of Marcus Aurelius's reign. Lyly speaks of them in his first part, but has to confess in a later edition that he meant Oxford and Cambridge.

In short, Lyly does not introduce in his book, as many of his contemporaries did, the Italy of his time, but contrasts the antique Italy of Marcus Aurelius with his modern country. Euphues himself is a queer mixture of the ancient philosopher of Guevara's book, the courtier and lover of Lyly's time, and the scholar of an English University.

That Lyly's two volumes are compiled from different sources, ancient and modern, is evident. He brings in abruptly persons never before mentioned, he inserts in his second part tales which have nothing to do with the plot—as that of Cassander, the episode with the Italian Pfellus, Fidus and Iffida, and in the first part Euphues and his Ephoebus, Euphues and Atheos. I have pointed out two instances where he follows word for word Plutarch, whose Morals had already been Guevara's principal source. His unnatural philosophy he took verbally from Pliny.(3) In his allusions to ancient mythology he followed, as Hense has shown, Ovid and Vergil. The idea of compiling his *Euphues* was given to him by Guevara's book, whose style he adopted, and whose sententious morals he imitated closely.(4) Although there are passages where Lyly took his sentences verbally from the *Dial of Princes*, his work is far from being a translation. This could not be, because Guevara's books had been already too often translated into English. It seems to me that he took the *Dial of Princes* and compiled from it, adding compilations from many other sources. The *Dial of Princes* is about five times as large as both parts of *Euphues*. It is not only difficult, but not worth while, to trace in detail what is Lyly's own, what Guevara's, what Plutarch's, and other ancient writers' share of the contents.

The importance of this book does not rest with the contents, but with the style in which it is written.

Whereas Guevara's style is very often dignified and elevated, we can call it, in the English dress, only an undexterous imitation and a gross exaggeration, because the rhetorical figures which are used by Guevara, very often with good taste, are brought-in in Lyly's book with such overwhelming abundance, that they overload every page.

North's, Pettie's, and Lyly's example was soon followed by other writers, for we find this glittering antithetical style not only in Greene's novels, but also in the works of Gosson, Lodge, Nash, and Rich,(5) up to the year 1590. Greene, the most prominent follower of Lyly in this respect, abandoned Euphuism about the year 1590, and shows an unaffected style in his latest works. We may therefore fix this year, 1590, as the end of the reign of Euphuism in English prose, although we find traces of it here and there after this date. Nash and Lodge abandoned it earlier. Nash ridiculed Greene's Euphuism in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1589, where he says,—

"Might Ovid's exile admonish such idlebies to betake them to a newe trade, the presse should be farre better employed, histories of antiquitie not half so much belyed, minerals, stones, and herbes should not have such cogged natures and names ascribed to them without cause. Englishmen should not be half so much Italianated as they are ; finallie love would obtaine the name of lust, and vice no longer maske under the vizard of vertue."

And in *Strange Newes*, 1592, Nash even maintains—

"*Euphues* I read, when I was a little ape in Cambridge, and I then thought it was *ipse ille :* it may be excellent good still, for ought I know, but I lookt not on it this ten yeare : but to imitate it I abhorre, otherwise than it imitates Plutarch, Ovid, and the choicest Latin authors."

The year of the publication of *Euphues* is not the beginning of Euphuism in England, but only the climax. Sir Philip Sidney, although he may have spoken Euphuism in court, avoided it entirely in his *Arcadia*, written between 1580-86. The publication of the *Arcadia* in 1588, detracted much from the reputation of *Euphues* by the popularity which it found in circles where *Euphues* had reigned, so far, as the fashionable book. It is not a mere phrase of Drayton when he says, in 1627, in his poem to Henry Reynold, of *Poets and Poesie*,—

"The noble Sidney, with this last arose,
That heroe for numbers and for Prose,

That throughly pac'd our language as to show
The plenteous English hand in hand might goe
With Greeke and Latine, and did first reduce
Our tongue from Lillie's writing then in use;
Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of fishes, Flyes,
Playing with words, and idle Similies,
As th' English Apes and very Zanies be
Of everything that they doe heare and see,
So imitating his ridiculous tricks,
They spake and writ, all like meere lunatiques."

For Sidney himself said—

"Let dainty wits cry on the sisters nine,
That, bravely masked, their fancie may behold,
Or Pindar's apes, flaunt they in phrases fine,
Enamling with py'd flowers their thoughts of gold;
Or else let them in statelier glory shine,
Ennobling new found tropes with problems old;
Or with strange similes enrich each line
Of hearbs, or beasts, which Ind' or Africk hold."

And certainly Sidney did not appreciate this, or any other characteristic element of Lyly's style. But Sidney was not the only writer who despised these "similes" of Euphues. Gabriel Harvey, Spencer's friend, answering Lyly's *Pap with a Hatchet* in *An advertisement for Pap Hatchet and Martin Marprelate*, 1589, confessed,—

"I cannot stand nosing of candlesticks or euphuing of similes, alla Savoica: it might happily be done with a trice; but every man hath not the gift of Albertus Magnus: rare birds are dainty; and they are quaint creatures, that are priviledged to create new creatures. When I have a mint of precious stones and straunge foules, beastes and fishes of mine owne coyning, (I could name the party, that in comparison of his owne Inventions termed Pliny a barraine woombe.)"—

Harvey certainly bore Lyly personal malice, but could not have made Lyly's style the principal point of his attack, if there had not been many others agreeing upon its ridiculousness just about 1589. In the same year (1589) W. Warner complains in his still euphuistic preface to *Albion's England*,—

"Onely this error may be thought hatching in our English, that to runne on the *letter* we often runne from the *matter:* and being over *p*rodigall in *s*imiles, we become lesse *p*rofitable in *s*entences and more *p*rolixious in *s*ense."

§ 5. The successors of Euphuism: Sidney's Arcadianism, &c.

When Shakspere began to write, Euphuism was censured by many as a ridiculous affectation, but there were other eccentricities in diction succeeding it.

I. Sidney certainly avoided Euphuism, but he brought in another taste and style that led to the same exaggeration as North's translation had led-to in *Euphues*. Sidney was the first to introduce into English the shepherd romance, with its flowery language and endless clauses, its tediousness and sentimentality, which characterise the shepherds of Sannazaro's Arcadia, from Monte Mayor's *Diana* up to the *Astrée*. The Italian as well as the Spanish work, which Sidney must have known, shows an affected style in speech. Sidney was probably influenced by the diction of both; and besides, that taste existed already in England. He translated some of the songs from Monte Mayor's *Diana*, as is well known, and must have been intimately acquainted with it, though it was not translated before 1598.(6) Sidney's style and diction are full of conceits and affectation, but this affectation is altogether different from Euphuism. The exaggeration of the Arcadian's taste can be best seen in a now very rare book, which bears the title "*Arisbas Euphues*, by John Dickenson, 1594," and is an imitation, not of *Euphues*, but of Sidney's *Arcadia*, as we see by the preface of the author. It runs thus on Sidney :—

"Although the whitest swanne and sweetest of Apolloes musicall birdes, hath put an endlesse periode to his ever living lines, being prevented by his untimely death, the Herauld of over-hastie destiny, though he the honour of Art and hope of Armes, Minervaes nurce childe, and beloved Secretary to the sacred Muses, was in the spring time of his glorie raised from below to reigne above : yet as his heroique spirit, disrobed of the perishing habit of mortalitie, swiftly passing through the inferior orbes, hath ascended to the empyre heaven, participating eternall joyes in the habitation of the blessed, and doth with happier eyes view the glorious light of Deitie, and resting in that blisful seate of his repose, wonders at heaven's huge frame whereto his high thoughts did alwaies honourably aspire : so his fame winged with desert, suted in robes of immortalitie, vanquishing death, tryumphing over time, and nothing staied by trivial stoppes, towres to the cloudes, and not comprehended in smal limits, fils the eares of al men with oft rebounded echoes of his praise, and over spreading Europe, nay the worldes wide continent, as did the flourishing vine which seemed to dismayed Astyages, in his ill presaging dreame, to cover Asia with a spatious shade. If you demande whom I meane, even he it is to whom I wil ascribe no other titles then the world has allotted, though I cannot duly affoord them as he deserves them, yet take them as I have placed them in this English distich, a testimonie of the reverent affection, which I beare to the memorie of such a famous worthie—

'Sweet Astrophil, the Solace of my pen,
Wonders of worth, and Peere of peerlesse men.'"

He begins :

"The sunne soiourning in his winter mansion had disrobed Arcadia of all her Treasures, and disgarnished Vestaes mantle of delightes variable choice

wherewith Flora had in plentie poudred the freshnesse of her earst-green hue. Night suted in a duskie robe of pitchie darknesse, besieged the globe with long shadowes, while Phoebus wanting wonted vigor did by darting his scarce reflected beamis afford small comfort to the earth encrease: So that Arcadia, earst the sovereigne seate of all conteint, and sole place of world's perfections, seemed now a patterne of the ancient chaos, wherein all things (if things) were confounded."—

II. *Gongorism.* Whether Shakspere's time owes this quaint language not only to Sidney's influence, but to another direct importation from Spain, I am not able to say. In Spain this *estilo culto* was adopted about the year 1600 by Don Luis de Gongora y Argote;(7) but all Spanish critics agree that it was in vogue long before he adopted it in his poetical works. Lodge translated from a Spanish source, in 1596, a novel which was given to him in the Jesuit college at Santos in South America, *A Marguerite of America*, that exhibits the same style, beginning,

"The blushing morning gan no sooner appeare from the desired bed of her old paramour, and remembring hir of hir Cephalus, watered the bosome of swete floures with the Christal of hir teares."

In the *Register of the Stationers' Company* we find, in one year, 1590, alone, four Spanish grammars registered—a fact which shows that Spanish was not so unknown then as it is now-a-days; and I think it is not without reason that Shakspere chose a Spaniard in *Love's Labour's Lost* as the representative of this style. Marston, if I mistake not, even went so far as to introduce a Spaniard in one of his plays, who speaks, wherever he appears, not English, but Spanish. I have, however, not yet traced this Gongoristic style in English, but hope to do so, as I have traced Euphuism. That novels in this style existed in English in the beginning of the seventeenth century, is evident from a very curious and amusing book, which Hazlitt supposes to have been written before 1637. In 1656 it bears the title *Don Zara del Fogo the Spaniarde*, by B. Musophilus, in 1657 *Wit and Fancy in a Mace*, and in 1660 "*Romancio-Mastrix*, or *a Romance on Romances:* in which the prodigious vanities of a great part of them are (as in a Mirrour) most lively represented and so naturally personated, that the ingenious reader, observing their deformities, may delightfully be instructed and invited to the pursuing of more honourable and profitable studies, by Sam. Holland." This very

interesting and amusing satire on the eccentricities of the preceding age begins—

"It was about that mungrell hour when the black-browd night and grey-eyed morning strove for superiority, when the mirror of Martiall spirits, Don Zara del Fogo, sweeping the somniferous God from his ample front with that broom of heaven, his face-pounding fist, entered into serious contemplation of the renowned acts of his most noble ancestors."

We have here not only the Spanish Romance à la Don Quijote, the mania for quotations, Gongoristic darkness and hyperbolical metaphors ridiculed, but the great English poets come-in at the following passage (Book II. ch. iv.) * :—

"— the British Bards (forsooth) were also ingaged in quarrel for superiority; and who, think you, threw the Apple of Discord amongst them but Ben Johnson, who had openly vaunted himself the first and best of English Poets; this Brave was resented by all with the highest Indignation, for Chaucer (by most there) was esteemed the Father of English Poesie, whose only unhappiness it was that he was made for the time he lived in, but the time not for him: Chapman was wondrously exasperated at Ben's Boldness, and scarce refrained to tell (his own 'Tale of a Tub') that his Isabel and Mortimer was now completed by a knighted poet whose soul remained in Flesh; hereupon Spencer (who was very busie in finishing his 'Faery Queen') thrust himself amidst the throng and was received with a shout by Chapman, Harrington, Owen, Constable, Daniel, and Drayton, so that some thought the matter already decided; but behold Shakespear and Fletcher (bringing with them a strong party) appeared, as if they meant to water their Bays with blood, rather than part with their proper Right, which indeed Apollo and the Muses (had with much justice) conferr'd upon them, so that now there is like to be a trouble in Triplex; Skelton, Gower, and the Monk of Bury were at Dagger-drawing for Chaucer; Spencer waited upon by a numerous Troop of the best Bookmen in the World; Shakespear and Fletcher surrounded with their lifeguard, viz. Goffe, Massinger, Decker, Webster, Sucklin, Cartwright, Carew, etc. O ye Parnassides."—

We see that the taste which followed Euphuism was not at an end when Shakspere died. That the conversational language, at the court and in good society, must have been very affected up to the middle of the seventeenth century, is most clearly shown by the publication of those catechisms of the English Précieuses like the *Academy of Compliments*, *Marrow of Compliments*, etc., in which euphuistic similes and comparisons, the flowery conceits of the Arcadians, as well as lists of fabulous stones, beasts, and plants, famous men and women, are collected systematically under distinct heads.(8)

* It is quoted in the Society's *Centurie of Prayse*, p. 302, from the 8vo. edition of 1656.

III. *Dubartasism.* Hand in hand with the Arcadian taste came in another eccentricity during the last ten years of the sixteenth century, through the translation of Homer's poems, whose diction and metre, as well as other ancient metres, were not only directly introduced into the too patient English language, but whose absurd imitators in France found such a popularity in England, that Sidney, as well as James I., translated part of this imitation before Joshua Sylvester published his *Divine Week* and the rest of Dubartas's poetry. In Dickenson's imitation of the *Arcadia* we meet already with sapphics and hexameters; but all these attempts were surpassed by that of Abraham Fraunce,(9) who forced not merely the English language, but the conceited diction of the Arcadian shepherds, powdered with would-be Homeric epithets, into Homer's metre.

These extravagances, however, have nothing to do with Euphuism. They succeed Lyly's quaint antithetical style in England; and they, but no longer Euphuism, were flourishing when Shakspere created his masterpieces. We should not deign to look at these ridiculous deviations now-a-days, if we had not to take a view of them too, for his sake, in order to get a just and right idea of the taste that reigned around him in society and literature.

To sum up: In *Love's Labour's Lost* Shakspere was not ridiculing Euphuism proper, but four other forms of affectation current in his day—

1. Spanish high-flown diction, bombast and hyperbole.
2. Italian or Petrarchan love-sonnetting, word-play, and repartee.
3. Latinist pedantry or *Soraismus*.
4. Excessive Alliteration.

'Euphuism' proper, he parodied only in 1 *Henry IV.*, Act II. sc. iv.

Lyly's *Euphues* and Euphuism were but adaptations from the Spanish writer GUEVARA.

Euphuism was overthrown in Shakspere's time by the other affectation of Arcadianism, taken by Sidney from the Spaniard Montemayor; and this was followed by Gongorism—also borrowed from Spain,—and the extravagances copied from the French Dubartas.

NOTES TO DR LANDMANN'S PAPER.

(1) Cfr. C. C. Hense, in *Jahrbuch d. Sh. Ges.*, Weimar, 1872-73, vols. vii., viii.

(2) *Reg. Stat. Comp.*, repr. Arber, vol. ii. p. 342.

VI^{to} Die Augusti 1576 Master Watkins Receyved of him for his lycence to ymprinte a booke entituled A petit palace of Pettie his pleasure—xd and a copie.

(3) Guevara has, *Dial.*, book ii. chapt. 5—

"Of the revenge of a woman of Greece toke of him that had killed her husband, in hope to have her in mariage.

"Plutarche in the booke that he made of the noble and worthie women, declareth a thing worthy of rehearsall, and to be had in memory. In the citie of Galacia were two renowned citizens, whose names were Sinatus & Sinoris, whiche were by bloud cosins and in familiaritie frendes: and for the love of a Grekes doughter, being very noble, beautifull, and exceading gratious, they both strived to have her in mariage, and for to attain to their desires, they both served her, they both folowed her, they both loved her, and for her both of them desired to die. For the dart of love is as a stroke with a clod of earth: the which being throwen amongest a company dothe hurte the one, and blinde the others. And as the fatal destinees had ordeined it, Sinatus served this lady called Camma in suche sorte that in the ende he obteined her in mariage for his lawfull wife: which thing when Sinoris perceived, he was ashamed of his doings, and was also wounded in his harte. For he lost not only that, which of so long time he had sought, loved, and served: but also the hope to attaine to that which chiefly in his life he desired."

In Pettie's collection the first tale is *Sinorix and Camma.*

"Sinorix chiefe governour of Scienna in Italie, glauncing his eyes upon the glittering beautie of Camma, wyfe of Sinnatus, a Gentleman of the same citie, falleth into extreame love with her, and assayeth sundry wayes to winne her good wyll. But perceiving his practices to take no wyshed effect, and supposing the husbandes lyfe to hinder his love, caused him to be murdered by a ruffian. Camma to the intent she might be revenged upon the chiefe conspiratour, in graunting him mariage, dispatched herselfe in drinking to him, and him in pledging her in a draught of poyson, which she had prepared for that purpose."

That Pettie's style is nothing else but Euphuism, a few lines may prove.

Sinorix receives his guests in the following terms:

"Fayre Ladies, as I am right ioyfull of your presence, so am I no lesse sorowfull for the paynes, which you have taken in undertakyng so great a journey this darke and mistie evening for the which I must account myselfe so much the more beholdyng to you, by how much greater your labour was in comming, and by how much lesse your cheere shal be able to countervaile it now yow are come."

And Camma answers to the letter of Sinorix:

"Your couragious persisting in your purpose, proveth you rather a *d*esperat *s*ot, then a *d*iscreet *s*ouldier: for to hop against the hill, and strive against the streame, hath ever been counted extreame folly. Your valiant venturing for a pray of value, proceeds rather of covetousnesse then of courage, for the valiant souldier seeketh glory, not gaine: but therein you may be more fitly resembled to the Caterpiller, which cleaveth only to good fruite, or the Moath, which most of all eateth the best cloth: or to the canker, which commonly breedeth in the fayrest Rose, or to the Wolfe, which by his will will kill the fattest sheepe."

Pliny, tr. by Bostock & Riley.	*Euphues.*
xxx. 44.	p. 484.
The stone Aetites that is found in the eagles nest.	Or the precious stone Aetites, which is founde in the filthy neastes of the Eagle.
x. 86.	p. 462.
The attagen, also of Ionia, is a famous bird; but although it has a voice it is mute in captivity.	As the bird Attagen, who never singeth any time after she is taken.
xxv. 52.	p. 61.
It is the hind too, that as already stated first made us acquainted with dictannum or dittany, for when wounded, it eats some of this plant, and the weapon immediately falls from the body.	The hart being perced with the dart, runneth out of hand to the hearb Dictannum and is healed.
xxii. 23.	p. 121.
The root of Anchusa is insoluble in water but dissolves in oil.	Anchusa, though it be hardened with water, yet it is againe made soft with oyle.
xxvii. 32.	p. 282.
Topazon. It so happened that some troglodytae pirates—when digging for rootes and grass discovered this precious stone.	And this dare I avouch *th*at as the Trogloditae which digged in the filthy ground for rootes and found the inestimable stone Topazon.

(4) I think it will be desirable to see in a few parallels—I could give very many more—how far Lyly imitates Guevara, not only in the principal features of his style, the well-balanced antithesis and mania for comparisons and similes, but also in the contents, the ideas adapted. I quote Guevara after North's translation, *Dial. of Princes*, 2nd ed. 1568. *Euphues* after Arber's reprint, 1868.

Guevara.	Lyly's *Euphues.*
Marcus Aurelius writeth to the amorous ladyes of Rome.	
Chap. x.	p. 97, *s.s.*
Truly he taketh upon him a great thing, and hath many cares in his mynde, much to muse upon, needeth	Nay Lucilla (sayd he) my Harvest shall cease, seeing others have reaped my corne, for anglyng for the fish that

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much councel, needeth long experience, and ought to chose amongst many women that thinketh to rule one only wife by reason. Be the beastes never so wild, at length the Lyon is ruled by his keaper, the bul is enclosed in his parke, the horse ruled by the brydel, the lytle hoke catcheth the fysh, the Oxe contended to yealde to the yoke: only a woman is a beast whych will never be tamed, she never loseth her boldness of commaundement. The gods have made men as men, and beasts as beasts, and mens understanding very high and his strength of great force: yet ther is nothing be it of never so great power, that can escape a woman, either with sleight or myght. But I say to you amorous ladyes, ther is neither spurre can make you go, raine that can hold you backe, bridel that can refraine you, neither fish hoke, ne net that can take you: to conclude there is no law can subdue you nor shame restraine you, nor feare abashe you, nor chastisement amend you. O to what great peril putteth he himselfe unto, that thinketh to rule and correct you. For if you take an opinyon, y^e^ whole world cannot remove you: who warneth you of anything, ye never beleve him. If they geve you good councel, you take it not: if one threaten you, straite you complaine. If one pray you, then are ye proude: if they reioyce not in you, then are you spiteful. If one forbeare you, then are ye bold: if one chastice you straite you become serpents. Finally a woman will never forget an iniurie, nor be thankeful for a benefit received. Now a days the most symplyst of all women wil swere that they know lesse then they do: but I swere, whych of them that knoweth least, knoweth more evil then all men, and of trouth *the* wisest man shal faile in their wisedom. Wil ye know my ladyes howe lytle you understand, and how much you be ignoraunt? that is in matters of importaunce ye determine rashly, as if

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is already caught, that were but meere folly. But in my minde if you be a fish you are either an Eele which as soone as one hath hold on hir tayle, wil slip out of his hande, or els a Minnow which will be nibling at every baite, but never biting. And in that you bring in the example of a Beast to confirme your follye you shew therin your beastly disposition, which is readye to follow such beastlynesse. —And certes in my minde no angle will hold thee, it must be a net.—I had thought that woemen had bene as we men, that is true, faithfull, zealous, constant, but I perceive they be rather woe unto men, by their falsehoode gelousie inconstancye. I was halfe perswaded that they were made of the perfection of men, and would be comforters, but nowe I see they have tasted of the infection of the Serpent, and will be corasives.

p. 106, *s.s.*

Dost thou not know that woemen deeme none valyaunt unlesse he be too venterous? That they accompt one a dastart if he be not desperate, a pynch penny if he be not prodygall, if silent a sotte, if full of wordes a foole? Perversly doe they alwayes thinke of their lovers and talke of them scornefully, iudging all to be clownes which be no courtiers, and all to be pinglers, that be no coursers.—But alas it is no lesse common then lamentable to behold the tottering estate of lovers, who thinke by delayes to prevent dangers, with Oyle to quench fire, with smoake to clear the eye sight. They flatter themselves with a fainting farewell, deferring ever until to morrow, when as their morrow doth always increase their sorrow. Let neither their amiable countenances, neither their painted protestacions, neither their deceitfull promises allure thee to delayes.—What greater infamy, then to conferre the sharpe witte to the making of lewde Sonettes, to the idolatrous worshypping of their Ladyes, to the vaine delyghtes

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ye had studyed on it a thousand yeres: if any you councel, ye hold him for a mortal enemy, hardy is that woman that dare give councel to a man, and he more bolde that taketh it of a woman: but I returne and saye, that he is a foole whych taketh it, and he more foole that asketh it, but he most foole that fulfille it. My opinyon is that he which wil not stomble amongest so hard stones, not pricke himselfe amongest such thornes, nor styng him with so many nettels, let him harke what I wil say and do, as he shal se, speake wel, and worke evil.

In promysing avow much: but in perfourmyng, accomplishe litle. Finally allow your words, and condemne your counsels. If we could demaund of famous men which are dead, how they liked in their life the councel of women, I am sure they would not now rise again to beleve them, nor be revived to here them. How was king Philippe with Olimpia, Paris with Hellen: Alexander with Rosana, Aeneas with Dido, Hercules with Deyanyrya, Anibal with Tamira, Antony with Cleopatra, Iulius with Domitian, Nero with Agrippina? and if you wil not beleve what they suffered with them aske of me unhappye man what I suffer amongst you. O ye women, when I remember that I was borne of you, I loth my lyfe: and thinking how I live with you, I wishe and desire my death. For ther is no such death to tormente, as to have to do with you: and contrary no such lyfe as to fly from you. It is a common saiing among women that men be very unthankful, because we were bred in your entrailes, we order you as servauntes. Ye say for that ye brought us forth with peril, and norished us with travaile, it is reason that we shold alwayes employ us to serve you. I have thought divers tymes with myselfe, from whence the desire that man hath to women cometh. Ther are no eyes but ought to wepe, nor heart but

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of fancye, to all kinde of vice as it were against kinde and course of Nature? Is it not folly to shewe witte to woemen which are neither able nor willing to receive fruite thereoff.—And certes easier will the remedy be, when the reason is espyed: doe you not knowe the nature of women which is grounded onely upon extremities? Doe they thinke any man to delight in them, unlesse he doate on them? Any to be zealous except they bee jealous? Any to be fervent in case he be not furious? If he be cleanelye, then terme they him proude, if meane in apparell a sloven, if talle a lungis, if short a dwarfe, if bolde, blunt: if shamefast a cowarde: Insomuch as they have neither meane in their frumps nor measure in their folly. But at the first the Oxe weyldeth not the yoke, nor the Colt the snaffle, nor the lover good counsel, yet time causeth the one to bend his neck, the other to open his mouth, and shoulde enforce the thirde to yeelde his right to reason. Laye before thine eyes the slightes and deceits of thy Lady, hir snatching in iest and keeping in earnest, hir periury, hir impietie, the countenance shee sheweth to thee of course, the love she beareth to others of zeale, hir open malice, hir dissembled mischiefe. O I woulde in repeating their vices thou couldst be as eloquent as in remembring them thou oughtest to be penitent: be she never so comely call her counterfaite, bee she never so straight thinke hir croked. Moreover to make thee the more stronger to strive against these Syrenes and more subtil to deceive these tame Serpents, my consayle is that thou have more strings to thy bow then one, it is a safe riding at two ankers.—Yet if thou be so weake being bewitched with their wiles that thou hast neither will to eschue, nor wit to avoyd their company, if thou be either so wicked that thou wilt not, or so wedded that thou canst not abstein from their glaunces, yet at the leaste dissemble thy griefe.—

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should breake, nor spirite but ought to wayle, to se a wyse man lost by a foolish woman. The foolyshe lover passeth the day to content hys eyes, and the darke night in tormenting himselfe, wyth fond thoughtes, one day in hearing tydings, another day in doyng servyces, somtime lothing lyght, being in company, and solitary lyveth: and finally the poore lover may that he wil not, and would that he may not. More over the counsel of his frends awayleth hym nothing, nor the infamy of his enemyes, not the losse of goodes, the adventure of honour.—

I meane, that in your lyves ye be filthy, your personnes without shame, in adversitye weake and feble, in prosperitye ful of deceite and guyle, false in your woordes, and doubtful in your doyngs, in hatynge without measure, in love extreame, in gifts covetous, in takyng unshamfast: and finally I saye ye are the ground of feare in whom the wise men find peril, and the simple men suffer iniury. In you the wise men hold their renoune slaundered and the simple men theyr lyfe in penury.—Of trouth ye amorous dames ye have tongues of the nature of fire, and your condicions like the pouder of a rotten tree. (See before.)

I accept the Romaine ladies apart, for ther are many very noble, whose lyves are not touched with complaint, nor good fames had in suspect. Of such neither my letter speaketh ought, nor my penne writeth: but of those women I speake that be such as al the venomous beastes in ye world have not so much poyson in their bodyes, as one of those hath in their tongues.—And thus I conclude *that* a man maye scape from al daungers in shonning them: but from women ther is no way but to fly from them. Thus I end.—

Book III. 8.

For this intent the virgins vestalles are closed up betweene the walles to eschew the occasions of open places,

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Beleve not their othes and solempne protestations, their exorcisms and coniurations, their teares which they have at commaundement, their alluring lookes, their treading on the toe, their unsavery toyes. Let every one loath his Ladye and be ashamed to be her servaunt.—

And yet Philautus, I would not that al women should take pepper in the nose, in that I have disclosed the legerdemains of a fewe, for well I know none will winch except she bee gawlded, neither any be offended unlesse she be guiltie. Therefore I earnestly desire thee, that thou shew this cooling carde to none, except thou shew also this my defence to them all. For although I way nothing the ill will of light huswives, yet would I be loath to lose the good wil of honest matrons. Thus being ready to goe to Athens, and ready there to entertain thee whensoever thou shalt repaire thether. I bidde thee farewell, and fly women.

p. 38, *s.s.*

The Parthians to cause their youth to loathe the alluring traines of womens wiles and deceitful entice-

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not to be more lyght and folyshe but to be more sad and vertuous fliing occasions. The yong shal not say I am yong and vertuous : nor the old shal not say I am olde and broken. For of necessity the dry flaxe wil bren in the fier and the grene flagge smoke in the flame. I say though a man be a dyamond set among men, yet of necessitie he ought to be quicke, and to melt as waxe in the heate among women, we cannot deny that thoughe the wood be taken from the fyer and the imbers quenched yet nevertheles the stones oftentime remaine hotte. In like wise the flesh, though it be chastised with hotte and dry disseases consumed by many yeares with travaile, yet concupiscence abydeth stil in the bones. What nede is it to blase the vertues, and denye our naturalities? certeinly ther is not so old a horse but if he se a mare wil ney once or twice : ther is no man so yong nor old but let him se faire yong damosels, either he wil give a sigh or a wishe. In al voluntarie things I deny not, but that one may be vertuous ; but in natural things I confesse every man to be weake. When to take the wood from the fier, it leaveth burning : when sommer cometh the cold winter ceaseth : when the sea is calm the waves leave their vehement mocions ; when the sonne is set it lightneth not the world.

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ments, hadde most curiously carved in their houses a young man blynde. —Thou art here in Naples a young soiourner, I an olde senior.—

The fine Christal is sooner crased than the hard Marble : the greenest beech burneth faster then the dryest Oke : the fairest silke is soonest soyled : and the sweetest Wine tourneth to the sharpest Vinegar. The Pestilence doth most rifest infect the clearest complection, and the caterpillar cleaveth unto the ripest fruite. —If therfore thou doe but hearken to the Syrens, thou wilt be enamoured.—Though all men be made of one mettal, yet they be not cast all in one moulde, ther is framed of the selfe same clay as wel the tile to keepe water out, as the potte to conteine licour, the Sunne doth harden the durte, and melte the waxe, fire maketh the golde to shine and the strawe to smother, Perfumes doth refresh the Dove, and kill the Betill, and the nature of the man disposeth that consent of the manners.—Doe you not knowe that which all men do affirme and know, that blacke will take no other colour? That the stone Abeston being once made hot will never be made colde? That fyre cannot be forced downewarde? That nature wil have course after kinde? That everything will dispose itselfe according Nature? Can the Aethiope chaunge or alter his skinne? or the Leopard his hiew? Is it possible to gather grapes of thornes, or figges from thistles, or to cause anything to strive against nature?—Put you no difference betweene the young flourishing Bay tree, and the old withered Beach? No kinde of distinction betweene the waxinge and the waninge of the Moone? And betweene the risinge and the settinge of the Sunne? Do you measure the hot assaults of youth, by the colde skirmishes of age? whose years are subject to more infirmities then our youth?

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Appendix 4.

When the tryumphes before named were finyshed this good Emperour being willyng to unbourden his hart and to advise Faustine and to teache the young damosel his doughter, and to the end that no man shold heare it, he called them apart, and sayd unto them these words. I am not contente Faustine with that thy doughter did nor yet with that which thou hast done being her mother. The doughters if they wilbe counted good children, must learne to obeye their fathers:—And now Lucilla remember not how you are a doughter: for you showe to have more liberty then requireth for a young mayden. The greatest gift that the gods have geven to the Matrons of Rome is: because that they are women, they kepe themselves close and secret, and because they are Romanes they are shamefast, and shame of men openly, beleve me they shal eyther faile the world, or the world theym.—

Appendix 5.

Mark the very desirous to the Lady greatly desired. I know not wether by my evil adventure, or by happe of my good adventure: not long agoe I saw thee at a windowe—I did not salute thee althoughe thou desiredst to be seene. Sith thou were set up as a white, it is no merveile though I shotte with the arrowes of my eyes, at the but of thy beautie with rolling eyes, with browes bent, well coloured face, incarnate teeth, ruddy lipps, curled heere, hands set with ringes, clothed with a thousand maner of colours, the bracelettes and earinges ful of pearles and stones.—

What wilt thou I saye more to thee, they wepte for that they died and I weepe teares of bloude from my hart for that I live.—

I would thou knewe lady Macrine *the* clere intention of my hart, rather then this letter written with my hande. If my hap were so good as thy love would permit me to speake

LYLY'S *Euphues.*

p. 101, *s.s.*

But it happened immediately Ferardo to returne home, who heering this strange event, was not a little amazed, and was now more readye to exhorte Lucilla.—Therefore in all haste with watrye eyes, and a woeful heart, began on this manner to reason with his daughter. Lucilla (daughter I am ashamed to call thee) seeing thou hast neither care of thy fathers tender affection nor of thine one credite.—But alas I see in thee neither wit to order thy doings, neither wil to frame thyselfe to discretion, neither the nature of a childe, neither the nurture of a maiden, neither (I cannot without teares speake it) any regard of thine honour, neither any care of thine honestie.—As thy beautie has made thee the blaze of Italy, so will thy lightnesse make thee the byeworde of the worlde.—

365. Philautus to the faire Camilla.

I cannot tell wether thy ingratitude be greater or my misfortune.—

404. The eye of the man is the arrow, the beautie of the woman the white, which shooteth not but receiveth.—

116. I loath almost to thinke on their oyntments and appoticary drugges, the sleeking of their faces, and all their slipper sauces.—Take from them their perywigges, their paintings, their Iewells, their rowles, their boulstrings and thou shalt soon perceive a woman is the least part of herselfe.—

If thou nothing esteeme the brynish water that falleth from mine eyes, I would thou couldst see the warme bloud that droppeth from my hart.—

355. If thou wouldst but permit me to talke with thee, or by writing suffer me at large to discourse with thee, I doubt not but *that* both the cause of my love wold be beleeved, and the

GUEVARA.

with the, I wold hope by sight & speche to win that, which I am in suspect by my letter to lose. The reason wherof is, because thou shalt rede my rude reasons in this leter, and if ye sawest me, then thou shouldst se ye bitter teares which I would offer to thee in this my unhappy life.

Book II. 6.

The emperour folowing his matter admonisheth men of the great daunger which ensue unto them by excessive hunting the company of women.

Then since the man knoweth that he must passe all those daungers, I cannot tel what foole he is, that wyll either love or serve you. For the brute beaste that once hath felte the sharpe teethe of the dogge, will unwillingly ever after come nere unto the stake. O unto what perils doth he offer himselfe, which continually doth haunte the company of women. For as much as if he love them not, they despise him, and take him for a foole. If he doth love them, they accompt him for light. If he forsake them they esteme him for no body. If he followe them, he is accompted loste. If he serve them, they do not regarde him. If he doe not serve them they despyse hym. If he will have them, they wyll not. If he will not they persecute hym. If he doe advance himselfe forth, they call hym importunate. If he flie, they say he is a cowarde. If he speake they saye he is a bragger. If he holde his peace, they saye he is a dissarde. If he laughe they saye he is a foole. If he laughe not, thei say he is solempne. If he geveth them anything they saye it is litle worth: and he that geveth them nothing, he is a pinch-purse. Finally he that haunteth them, is by them sclaundered: and he that doth not frequent them, is esteamed lesse then a man.

LYLY'S *Euphues.*

extremitie rewarded, both preceeding of thy beautie and vertue, the one able to allure, the other readie to pitie.—

p. 106, *s.s.*

A cooling carde for Philautus and all fond lovers.

Doest thou not knowē that woemen deeme non valyaunt unlesse he be too venterous? That they accompt one a dastart if he be not desperate, a pynch penny if he be not prodigall, if silent a sotte, if full of wordes a foole?—Doe they thinke any man to delyght in them, unlesse he doate on them? Any to be zealous except they bee jealous? Any to be fervent in case he be not furious? If he be cleanelye, then terme they him proude, if meane in apparell a sloven, if talle a lungis, if short, a dwarfe, if bolde, blunt, if shamefast a coward.

(5) In the second Tome of *The Travailes and Adventures of Don Simonides*, by Barnabye Rich, 1584, I find Euphues introduced as a person into the tale, and the following yet unknown eulogy on John Lyly:—

"And amongst the whole catalogue of comely schollers, there shalt thou meete with a Gentleman of such experience, as may confirme thee in thy travaile, counsaile thee into straunge Countreis, comfort thee in all thy Sorrowes, teache thee how thou oughtest to walke, yea, with so sweet a tongued orator shalt thou meete, as Aeschines should be shoft at if he discommended hym, and Anthony the Orator derided at if he did imitate hym. All these perfections shalt thou finde in one man, who as the Bee sucketh Honey findeth vertue, as the Camelion feedeth on the Ayre followeth contemplation, who can Court it with the best, and Scholler it with the most, in whom I know not whither I should more commende his maners or his learnyng, the one is so exquisite the other so generall. Happy shalt thou be in thy travaile to meete with this Euphues, who is curious in describing the Anatomie of wit, and constaunt reprehendyng vanities in Love."

(6) I think it will not be out of place to give a few lines of Sidney's work and that of Montemayor, tr. by B. Yong, 1598. I choose the beginning of the *Arcadia* and the *Diana*, which seems in conception and phrases very like in both. There exist still many vague notions on the style of Sidney and the Arcadians, just as on Euphuism; but I think a few lines will be sufficient to show that we have here altogether a different taste and elements exaggerated from those which give *Euphues* its peculiarity.

MONTEMAYOR, *Diana*, 1542.

Downe from the hils of Leon came forgotten Syrenus whom love, fortune, and time did so entreate, that by the least greefe that he suffered in his sorrowfull life, he looked for no lesse then to loose the same. The unfortunate Sheperd did not now bewaile the harme, which her absence did threaten him, and the feare of her forgetfulnes did not greatly trouble his minde, because he sawe all the prophecies of his suspicion so greatly to his preiudice accomplished, that now he thought he had no more misfortunes to menace him. But the sheperd coming to those greene and pleasant meades, which the great river Ezla watreth with his cristalline streames, the great felicitie and content came to his wandring thoughtes, which sometimes he had enjoyed there, being then so absolute a Lord of his owne liberty, as now subiect to one, who had wrongfully enterred him in darke oblivion. He went musing of that happie time, when in those medowes, and on those faire banks he fed his flocks,—applying then his minde in the onely care and interest he had to feede them well: and

SIDNEY, *Arcadia*, 1588.

It was in the time that the earth begins to put on her new apparel against the approach of her lover, and that the sun running a most even course, becomes an indifferent arbiter between the night and the day, when the hopeless sheperd Strephon was come to the sands which lie against the island of Cithera; where viewing the place with a heavy kind of delight, and sometimes casting his eyes to the isleward, he called his friendly rival, the pastor Claius unto him; and setting first down in his darkened countenance a doleful copy of what he would speak, O my Claius, said he, hither we are now come to pay the rent, for which we are so called unto by over-busy remembrance, restless remembrance, which claims not only this duty of us, but for it will have us to forget our selves. I pray you, when we were amid our flock, and that of other sheperds some were running after their sheep, strayed beyond their bounds; some delighting their eyes with seeing them nibble upon the short and sweet grass; some medicining their sick ewes; some setting a

MONTEMAYOR, *Diana*, 1542.

spending the rest of his howres in the onely delight, that he tooke in the swete smell of those golden flowres, at that time especially, when cheereful springtyde (the merry messenger of sommer) is spread over the face of the whole earth: sometimes taking his rebecke, which he ever caried very neate in a scrip, and sometimes his bagpipe, to the tune of which he made most sweete ditties, which of all the sheperdesses of those hamlets there abouts made him most highly commended. The sheperd busied not his thoughts in the consideration of the prosperous and preposterous successe of fortune, nor in the mutabilitie and course of times, neither did the painfull diligence and aspiring minde of the ambitious Courtier trouble his quiet rest: nor the presumption and coye disdaine of the proude and nice Ladie (celebrated onely by the appassionate vowes and opinions of her amorous sutours) once occurre to his imaginations; And as little did the swelling pride and small care of the private man offend his quiet minde. In the field was he borne, bred and brought up: in the field he fed his flockes, and so out of the limits of the field his thoughts did never range, untill cruell love tooke possession of his libertie, which to those he is commonly woont to doe, who thinke themselves freest from his tyrannie. The sad sheperd therefore came softly on his pace, his eyes turned into fountaines, the fresh hew of his face chaunged, and his hart so tempered to suffer Fortunes unworthie disgraces, that if she would have given him any content, she must have sought him a new hart to receive it. The weedes that he did weare, was a long gray coate, as rugged as his haps, carrying a sheepe hooke in his right hand, and a scrip hanging on his left arme. He laide himselfe downe at the foote of a thicke hedge, and began to cast foorth his eyes along those faire river banks, until their beames came to that place, where first they beheld

SIDNEY, *Arcadia*, 1588.

bell for an ensign of a sheepish squadron; some with more leisure inventing new games of exercising their bodies and sporting their wits; did remembrance grant us any holyday, either for pastime or devotion? nay, either for necessary food, or natural rest? but that still it forced our thoughts to work upon this place, where we last (alas that the word last should so long last) did graze our eyes upon her ever flourishing beauty, did it not still cry within us? A you base minded wretches! are your thoughts so deeply bemired in the trade of ordinary worldlings, as for respect of gain some paltry wool may yield you, to let so much time pass without knowing perfectly her estate especially in so troublesome a season? to leave that shore unsaluted from whence you may see to the island where she dwelleth? to leave those steps unkissed wherein Urania printed the farewel of all beauty. Well then, remembrance commanded, we obeyed, and here we find, that as our remembrance came ever clothed unto us in the form of this place, so this place gives new heat to the fever of our languishing remembrance. Yonder, my Claius, Urania lighted, the very horse methought, bewailed to be so disburdened: and as for thee, poor Claius, when thou wentest to help her down, I saw reverence and desire so devide thee, that thou didst at one instant both blush and quake, and instead of bearing her, wert ready to fall down thyself.

MONTEMAYOR, *Diana*, 1542.

the beautie, grace, and rare vertues of the Sheperdesse Diana, she, in whom skilfull nature had consummated all perfections, which in every part of her dainty body she had equally bestowed. Then did his hart imagine that, which before it divined of, that sometimes he should finde himselfe put amongst sorrowfull memories. And then could not the wofull Sheperd stop his teares from gushing out, nor smother his sighes which came smoking out of his breast, but lifting up his eyes to heaven began thus to lament. A memorie (cruell enemie to my quiet rest) were not thou better occupied to make me forget present corsies, then to put before mine eyes passed contents? What saiest thou memorie? That in this medow I beheld my Lady Diana, that in the same I began to feele that, which I shal never leave of to lament, that neere to that cleere fountaine, (set about with high and greene Sicamours) with many teares she solemnly sware to me, that there was not the deerest thing in the world, no, not the will of her parents, the perswasion of her brethren, nor the importunities of her allies, that were able to remove her from her setled thoughts? And when she spake these words, there fell out of those faire eyes teares like oriental pearles, which seemed to testifie that, which remained

MONTEMAYOR, *Diana*, 1542.

in her secret hart, commanding me, upon paine to be accounted of her a man but of base and abject minde, if I did not beleeve that, which so often times she had told me. But stay yet a little Memorie, since now thou hast put before me the foundations of my mishap (and such they were, that the ioy, which I then passed, was but the beginning of the greefe which now I suffer) forget not to tune me this iarring string, to put before mine eyes by one and one, the troubles, the turmoiles, the feares, the suspects, the iealousies, the mistrusts, and cares, which leave not him, that most truly loves. A memorie, memorie, how sure am I of this aunswere at thy hands, that the greatest paine, that I passed in these considerations, was but little in respect of that content which in lieu of them I received. Thou hast greate reason memorie, and the worse for me that it is so great: and lying and lamenting in this sort, he tooke a paper out of his bosome, wherein he had a few greene silken strings and haire tyed up together, and laying them open before him upon the greene grasse, with abundance of teares he tooke out his Rebecke, not halfe so iocund as it was woont to be, at what time he was in Dianas favour, and began to sing that which followeth.—

(7) Ticknor gives the following example of Gongora's style, that shows best the darkness of his allusions and his quaint metaphorical diction.

"Thus when his friend Luis de Bavia in 1613 published a Volume containing the history of three Popes, Gongora sent him the following words, thrown into the shape of a commendatory sonnet, to be prefixed to the book. This poem, which Bavia has now offered to the world, if not tied up in numbers, yet is filed down into a good arrangement, and licked into shape by learning, is a cultivated history, whose gray-headed style, though not metrical, is combed out, and robs three pilots of the sacred bark from time and rescues them from oblivion. But the Pen that thus immortalizes the heavenly turnkeys on the bronzes of its history is not a pen, but the key of ages. It opens to their names, not the gates of failing memory, which stamps shadows on masses of foam, but those of immortality."

(8) In Bodenham's *Polyteuphyia* Wits Comonwealth, and in its continuation, *Palladis Tamia*, by Fr. Meres 1598, we seem to have

the first of these collections. In the latter every single sentence throughout the whole book is a euphuistic simile, with 'as—so.' In the *Academy of Complements*, by Philomusus, 1650, we find first phrases like the following:—

"How long shall my languishing sicknesse wait upon the triumphs of my passions? At last, o fair one, cast the eyes of thy resplendent presence on thy abject creature, that, by the brightnesse of those raies, his basenesse may be turned into a most high, and through thy perfections a most happy preferment; for being thus disconsolate, by the frowns of thy rigour, how soon maist thou raze down that temple, which at first was built by the refulgent smiles of thy beauty?"

Then come in Arcadian and euphuistic similes and comparisons:

"Like to Diana in her summer weed, girt with a Crimson robe of brightest dye.

The rivulets of tears hang on her cheekes like rops of pearled dew upon the rides of Flora.

Her tresses are like the coloured Hyacinth of Arcadia.

Her brows are like the mountain snows, that lye on the hills.

Her eyes are like glistrings of Titans gorgeous mantle.

Her Alabaster neck like the purer whitenesse of the flocks, and her face a border of Lillies, interwoven with Roses.

Her blushing cheeks loke like the ruddy gates of the morning.

Her breath is like the steam of Apple-pyes, her teeth like the tusks of fattest swine, her speech is like the thunder of the Aire."

And

"As the finest gold hath its drosse; purest wine its lees; the finest Rose its Prickels; each sweete its soure.

He that will hear such Syrens sing, must with Ulysses tie himself to the mast of the ship.

Who means to be a suitor to Circes, must take a preservative, unlesse he mean to be enchanted.

Like the moistned Torpedoes, that doe not only charm the hand, but the heart.

As the finest flower seldome hath the lest smell, as the glittering stone hath oftentimes the least vertues.

As the Cockatrice dieth with beholding the Chrysolyte."

Now these phrases are not merely the invention of the author, but quotations from the most popular writer of the preceding period.

(9) The Countesse of Pembroke's Yvychurche, Conteyning the affectionate life and unfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas, that in Pastorall: this in a Funerall: both in English Hexameters. 1591. It saw three editions, and begins:

"Who would thinke, that a God lay lurking under a gray cloak,
Silly shepherd's gray cloake, and arm'd with paltery sheep hooke?
And yet no pety God, no God that gods by the mountaines,
But the triumphant'st God that beares any sway in Olympus,
Which many times hath made man-murdering Mars to be cursing
His blood-sucking blade, and prince of watery empire
Earth-shaking Neptune, his three-fork't mace to be leaving
And Jove omnipotent, as a poore and humble obeissant,
His three-flak't lightnings and thunderbolts to abandon,
Unto the wanton wagges that waite on Lordly Cupido."

XIV. SHAKSPERE'S *AS YOU LIKE IT* AND LODGE'S *ROSALYNDE* COMPARED.

BY W. G. STONE, ESQ.

(*Read at the 77th Meeting of the Society, Friday, March* 10, 1882.)

I PROPOSE in the following paper to examine Shakspere's treatment of Lodge's *Rosalynde*, the source of *As You Like It*, from a negative point of view; and, instead of showing his agreement therewith, to dwell upon his divergence therefrom, (I) in varying the plot, (II) in modifying the characters.

Before considering Shakspere's use of his acknowledged original—Lodge's *Rosalynde*—it may be well to enquire whether he had any other before him. Farmer, who opposed the assertion of Grey and Upton that Shakspere borrowed *As You Like It* from the pseudo-Chaucerian *Tale of Gamelyn*,—to which Lodge was partially indebted,—went so far as to say: ". . . the old bard, who was no hunter of MSS., contented himself solely with Lodge's *Rosalynd*."[1] Knight[2] produced three passages from *Gamelyn*, for which he found parallelisms in *As You Like It*. Orlando was dependent upon his brother's generosity. So should Gamelyn have been if Sire Johan of Boundys had followed the advice of some "wise knightes" whom he had requested to divide his lands between his three sons, having special regard to his youngest son's, Gamelyn's, interest.

> "For to delen hem alle to oon, that was her thought,
> And for Gamelyn was yongest, he schuld have nought"
> (ll. 43, 44).[3]

Sire Johan, however, made Gamelyn his residuary legatee. In the next instance there is certainly an analogous treatment of subject.

[1] "On the Learning of Shakspeare," in the *Var. Sh.*, 1821, i. 314.

[2] *Pictorial Shakspere*, ed. 1, Comedies, vol. ii. pp. 199-201.

[3] The references are to the Aldine edition of *Chaucer* (ed. 2), vol. ii. pp. 139 *et sqq.* The Rev. W. A. Harrison drew my attention to the parallelisms in *Gamelyn* at ll. 71-73; 193, 194; and 233, 234.

The old man, whose sons had been well nigh slain by Charles, was "making such pittiful dole ouer them, that all the beholders take his part with weeping,"[1] said Le Beau (I. ii. 139, 140). When Gamelyn reached the wrestling-place :

> ". . . he herd a frankeleyn wayloway synge,
> And bigan bitterly his hondes for to wrynge" (ll. 197, 198),

bemoaning the death of his two sons. Contrast the stoicism of Lodge's franklin who "never chaunged his countenance, but as a man of a couragious resolution, tooke up the bodies of his sonnes without shewe of outward discontent." The people, we are told, "murmured, and were all in a deepe passion of pittie"[2] (p. 27). The "shake by the shoulder," wherewith Lodge's wrestler disturbs Rosader's contemplation of Rosalynd's charms (p. 28), bears, I think, a closer resemblance to Charles's rude interruption of Orlando's talk with Rosalind and Celia,—"Come, where is this yong gallant that is so desirous to lie with his mother earth" (I. ii. 212, 213),—than can be found in the taunt addressed by the champion to Gamelyn :

> ". . . Who is thy fader and who is thy sire?
> For-sothe thou art a gret fool, that thou come hire"
> (ll. 221, 222).

Five other parallelisms, more or less clear, may be added. After his father's death, Johan, Gamelyn's eldest brother,

> ". . . took into his hond his lond and his leede,
> And Gamelyn himselfe to clothen and to feede.
> He clothed him and *fed him yvel* and eek wrothe" (ll. 71-73).

Orlando complains to Adam that Oliver's "horses are bred better, for besides that they are faire with their *feeding*, they are taught their mannage, . . . hee lets mee *feede* with his Hindes, barres mee the place of a brother," &c. (I. i. 11-13, 19-21). Lodge only says, generally, that Saladyne made "Rosader his foote boy for the space of two or three yeares, keeping him in such servile subjection, as if he had been the sonne of any country vassal" (p. 21). When Oliver

[1] Line-numbers from the *Globe Sh.* The spelling of F1 has been retained; the punctuation has been sometimes altered.

[2] The references are to Hazlitt's *Sh. Lib.*, Pt I. vol. ii. pp. 14 *et sqq.* The punctuation has been sometimes altered.

called Orlando a "villaine," the latter replied: "I am no villaine: I am the yongest sonne of Sir Rowland de Boys; he was my father; and he is thrice a villaine that saies such a father begot villaines" (I. i. 59-62). Gamelyn answered the epithet "gadelyng," given him by his eldest brother, Johan, thus:

> "I am no worse gadelyng, ne no worse wight,
> But born of a lady, and geten of a knight" (ll. 107, 108).

As Gamelyn rode away to the wrestling-match, Johan

> ". . . bysoughte Jhesu Crist, that is heven kyng,
> He mighte *breke his nekke* in that wrastlyng" (ll. 193, 194).

In commending Orlando to Charles's "discretion," Oliver said: "I had as liefe thou didst *breake his necke* as his finger" (I. i. 152, 153). The wrestler thus taunted Gamelyn (ll. 233, 234):

> "'By God!' sayde the champioun, 'welcome mote thou be!
> Come thou ones in myn hond, schalt thou never the [thrive].'"

Duke Frederick said: "You shall trie but one fall." Charles answered: "No, I warrant your Grace, you shall not entreat him to a second,"[1] &c. (I. ii. 216-218). Lastly, the forest of Arden and that

[1] While on this subject of the wrestling as treated by Chaucer and by Shakspere, I would point to a coincidence which seems to me to throw some light on a disputed reading of a passage in *As You Like It* (II. iii. 7, 8).

> "Why would you be so fond to ouercome
> The *bonnie* [? *bonie*] *priser* of the humorous Duke?"

says Adam to Orlando. The modern texts read "Bonny prizer"; "bonny" being taken in the sense of the Scotch "bonnie," as in the expression "a bonnie lass." The epithet is suitable enough when applied to a fair damsel, but is it applicable to a man? I do not believe that Shakspere would be likely to use it of Charles in any case; and certainly he would not put it into the mouth of Adam under the circumstances in which he is speaking. The word occurs in *Henry VI.*, part 2 (V. ii. 12), where it is applied to a fine horse, "the bonnie beast he loved so well." In the *Taming of the Shrew* (II. i. 186), where "Bonny Kate" is given in the Folio as "BONY Kate." In the same play (III. ii. 226), where it is "bonny Kate." In *Richard III.* (I. i. 94), where Shore's wife is said to have "a bonny eye." In the Song in *Much Ado about Nothing* (II. iii. 68), "blithe and bonnie."

Prizer (it is spelled "priser" in the Folio) is explained to mean one who fights for prizes—prize-fighter. I strongly suspect that both these derivations are wrong; that (a) "Bonnie" should be "bony," as Dyce and others have printed the word in their editions, meaning one with large bones, and so with a strong powerful frame; and (b) that "priser" means one who lays hold with a good firm grip. Cotgrave has the word in this sense, "*êstre en prises*, to be closely locked or grappled together; to tug one another; to *wrastle* or strive with one another."

to which Gamelyn and Adam the spencer—the prototype of old Adam—betook themselves are described by the same adjective. Adam remarked:

> "That lever me were keyes for to bere,
> Then walken in this *wilde woode* my clothes to tere"
> (ll. 621, 622).

Compare:

> "And to the skirts of this *wilde Wood* he [Duke Frederick] came"
> (V. iv. 165).

I. Variations in the Plot.

1. We meet with a slight variation of plot in the opening scene of *As You Like It*. Sir John of Bordeaux (Sir Rowland de Boys) bequeathed to his youngest son Rosader (Orlando) a larger portion than either Saladyne or Fernandyne (Oliver and Jaques de Boys) received. Rosader was thus no penniless younger brother like Orlando, but, being a minor at the time of Sir John's death, he was left to the guardianship of Saladyne, who wasted his estates and degraded him to the condition of a foot-boy (pp. 14-21).

2. When the two brothers quarrelled, Saladyne bade his men bind Rosader, who thereupon caught up a rake and used it so vigorously as to put them all to flight, and compel Saladyne to take refuge in a loft (p. 23). This brawl is reduced by Shakspere to Orlando's momentary clutch of Oliver's throat (I. i. 62-64).

3. After his victory in the wrestling-match, Rosader, attended by some "boon companions," returned triumphantly to Saladyne's house. Saladyne had bribed the wrestler to kill his brother, and, being wroth at the failure of his scheme, shut the gate against them. Rosader

So that the expressions taken together would mean *the big-f amed wrestler*. Aldis Wright objects to "Bony," that it would describe a thin and skeleton-like man. But then he takes PRIZER = prize-fighter; and the question is whether Bony taken with "PRISER" would not convey the idea of a man whose big bones gave him the advantage in the grip.

Bearing in mind that Shakspere has, in the preceding scene, described his wrestler as "*the sinewy Charles*," now hear what Chaucer says of a wrestler:

> "The Mellere was a stout carle for the nones,
> Full big he was of *braun*, and *eke* of *boones*;
> That prevede wel, for overal ther he cam,
> At wrastlynge he wolde bere awey the ram."
> (*Prologue*, ll. 545-548.)—W. A. Harrison.

broke open the gate and welcomed his comrades to five tuns of Saladyne's wine and whatever food could be found. When the guests had departed he was minded to avenge Saladyne's discourtesy, but, through Adam Spencer's mediation, the brothers were reconciled. A "long while," we learn, then elapsed till, "on a morning very early," Saladyne surprised Rosader asleep, and caused him to be bound to a post in the hall, forbidding any one to give him food or drink. He was released by Adam Spencer, with whose assistance he attacked Saladyne and the "kindred and allyes," who were being entertained at "a solempne breakefast," slew some of them and drove the rest out of the house. Saladyne returned, accompanied by the sheriff and twenty-five "tall men." Rosader and Adam Spencer sallied forth, repulsed the sheriff's forces, and escaped to the forest of Arden (pp. 30-32, 54-58). All this violence Shakspere omitted, and made Oliver's meditated attempt on Orlando's life a reason for the latter's flight (II. iii. 19-25).

4. Shakspere invented the old enmity between Duke Frederick and Sir Rowland de Boys, which caused the duke's ungenerous behaviour to Orlando (I. ii. 237-239).

I here note that the characters and incidents of Shakspere's original hitherto mentioned were borrowed by Lodge, with slight alteration, from the *Tale of Gamelyn*. The unnamed "woode," to which Gamelyn and Adam the spencer retreated (l. 617), was defined by Lodge as the forest of Arden (p. 58). The characters added by Lodge and utilized by Shakspere are: Rosalynd, Alinda (Celia), Phœbe, Montanus[1] (Silvius), Coridon (Corin), Gerismond, the banished king (Duke Senior), and Torismond, King of France (Duke Frederick).

5. Torismond, enraged at Alinda's importunate pleading for Rosalynd, banished both daughter and niece (p. 38). There was, as we have seen, a long interval between Rosader's triumph and his

[1] Shakspere, in changing the names of some of Lodge's characters, has done so with wonderful propriety, having regard to the scene of the story. Saladyne becomes Oliver, an appropriate name, from *Olivier*, an Olive-tree. Sir John of Bordeaux becomes Sir Rowland *de Bois* = Wood. Montanus is changed to Silvius, one born in the woods; "in silvis natus" (Livy, I. 3). —W. A. H.

flight, during which time Rosalynd and Alinda, whose banishment took place on the day of the wrestling-match (cf. pp. 35 and 39), were living in Arden (p. 54). They were known as Aliena and Ganimede, and passed as mistress and page (p. 40). This variation in time leads to these results.

α. When Rosalynd and Alinda had been travelling for two or three days through the "Forrest side," the former espied a posy addressed to an obdurate fair one, and carved on the bark of a pine. Some more verses, signed "Montanus," were discovered by Alinda on a beech (pp. 41-43). In Shakspere's version, Orlando, not an uninteresting shepherd, was the writer of the verses which cast Rosalind into such a pretty flutter of hope and bashfulness.

β. At the banquet in the forest (II. vii.) Gerismond learnt from Rosader how his daughter and niece had been banished, and were gone none knew whither (p. 63). Orlando, whose flight was coeval with Rosalind's, had not this clue for detecting her disguise. Yet I agree with Mr Grant White[1] that we must allow much for the glamour of Arden forest.

6. Saladyne was imprisoned by Torismond, ostensibly on account of Rosader's wrongs. Being released and exiled he resolved to seek Rosader. He did not recognize his brother in the forester who saved him from a lion, but made known to Rosader, as to a stranger, his previous history and contrition for his misdeeds. Rosader thereupon revealed himself (pp. 63-65, 89-93). Doubtless Oliver knew Orlando when, as he said:

"From miserable slumber I awaked" (IV. iii. 133).

7. Two or three[2] days were spent by Rosader in showing his forest haunts to Saladyne, during which time Rosalynd sorely missed her lover (pp. 94, 95), to whom, at their last meeting, she had been sportively married by Alinda (p. 84). Rosader then revisited Rosalynd and Alinda, and told them the cause of his absence (pp. 95, 96). Oliver informed Rosalind and Celia that Orlando was detained by the wound which he had received from the lioness (IV. iii. 151-157).

8. In the course of this interview "certain Rascals," who were hiding from justice in the forest, endeavoured to carry off Alinda.

[1] *Galaxy*, April, 1875, No. iv, p. 556, col. 1. [2] P. 94. Three days, p. 95.

They overpowered and severely wounded Rosader, and must have succeeded in their attempt had not Saladyne fortunately come to the rescue (pp. 96, 97). Shakspere made no use of this adventure.

9. On the next day, when Rosalynd and Alinda had returned to their home, after witnessing Montanus's bootless courtship of Phœbe, came Saladyne, bringing news of Rosader's anticipated restoration to health (pp. 111, 112). Rosalynd having discreetly withdrawn (p. 115), Saladyne wooed Alinda and prevailed on her to promise that she would either marry him or "still live a virgine" (p. 118). Shakspere, who omitted the rescue from the ruffians, caused Orlando to be slightly wounded in saving Oliver from the lioness (IV. iii. 147, 148).

10. At an indefinite later date Montanus brought Phœbe's letter to Rosalynd. Silvius delivered a similar missive just before Oliver entered with news of Orlando.

11. A day being fixed for the marriage of Alinda and Saladyne, the feigned Ganimede promised Rosader that, by the aid of a friend "deeply experienst in Necromancy and Magicke," the presence of Rosalynd at the ceremony should be ensured. Hereupon "Rosader frownd, thinking that Ganimede had jested with him" (p. 130). Shakspere made Rosalind herself the conjurer, and inspired Orlando with a vague confidence in the art which she professed to have learnt from her uncle the magician (V. ii. 56-75; iv. 3, 4).

12. Gerismond's investigation of the case of Montanus and Phœbe was the chief incident of the wedding festivities (pp. 134-139). Rosalynd and Rosader were left quite in the shade. Shakspere kept his under-plot within due proportions, and imparted breadth and diversity to the closing scene of *As You Like It*, by means of Touchstone's wit.

13. The marriage banquet was interrupted by the arrival of Fernandyne, who announced that the twelve peers of France had taken up arms on their lawful sovereign's behalf, and were about to join battle with Torismond's forces, on the outskirts of the forest. Gerismond, accompanied by Rosader and Saladyne, armed and hastened to the fray, in which Torismond was slain and his followers were routed. Gerismond then returned to Paris in triumph, and the

personages of the story received their several rewards, from Rosader downwards, created heir apparent, to Coridon, who became master of Alinda's flocks (pp. 142-144). The repentance of Duke Frederick forestalled the pending hurly-burly (V. iv. 160-171). The "happie number" grouped round the Elder Duke, whose "returned fortune" they are soon to share, are visible to us only while we stand within the enchanted circle of Arden forest.

II. Variations in the Characters.

I turn now to the like negative comparison of the characters presented by the novel and the play.

1. In her meditations, after the wrestling-match, upon her sudden passion for Rosader, Rosalynd lamented falling in love with a poor man who could not maintain her state or revenge her father's wrongs, called to mind certain prudential maxims, as "that gold is sweeter than eloquence; that love is a fire and wealth is the fewel," and exhorted herself to think Rosader "lesse beautiful, because hee is in want, and account his vertues but qualities of course, for that he is not indued with wealth." She ended her soliloquy, however, by abjuring "such servile conceites, as to prize gold more than honor, or to measure a Gentleman by his wealth, not by his vertues" (p. 34). I suspect that Lodge deemed it incumbent on him, as a man of the world, to correct the excessive saccharinity of his love-passages with some bitter infusions of worldly wisdom. In contrast to these musings —whether natural or factitious—we have the momentary struggle with conventional reserve which made Shakspere's Rosalind murmur to herself, when she saw Orlando's wistful gaze fixed on her,

> "He cals vs back: my pride fell with my fortunes;
> Ile aske him what he would" (I. ii. 264, 265).

The Rosalind of the novel is a colourless being, incapable of entering into the spirit of her part, and availing herself of it to tease Rosader with the saucy bewildering banter which Orlando had to endure. The only gleam of merriment in their wooing came when, after they had sung a wooing eclogue together, Rosalynd said: "How now, Forrester, have I not fitted your turne? have I not playde the woman handsomely, and shewed myselfe as coy in

graunts, as courteous in desires, and beene as full of suspition, as men of flattery? and yet to salve all, jumpe I not all up with the sweet union of love? Did not Rosalinde content her Rosader?" Rosader opined that "if my foode bee no better than such amorous dreames, Venus at the yeares end shal find me but a leane lover" (pp. 83, 84). Of their usual dialogue the following is a fair specimen. "Thou speakest by experience (quoth Ganimede), and therfore we hold al thy words for Axiomes: but is Love such a lingring maladie? It is (quoth he) either extreame or meane, according to the minde of the partie that entertaines it; for as the weedes grow longer untoucht then the prettie floures, and the flint lyes safe in the quarry, when the Emerauld is suffering the Lapidaries toole: so meane men are freed from Venus injuries, when kings are environed with a laborinth of her cares" (p. 79).

Whatever capacity for fun was possessed by Lodge's Rosalynd showed itself in her talks with Alinda. Of this I give an example. "You may see (quoth Ginimede) what mad cattel you women be, whose harts sometimes are made of Adamant that wil touch with no impression, and sometimes of wax that is fit for every forme: they delight to be courted, and then they glory to seeme coy, and when they are most desired then they freese with disdaine: and this fault is so common to the sex, that you see it painted out in the shepheardes [Montanus's] passions, who found his Mistres as froward as he was enamoured" (p. 42).

Either in jest or for the sake of proving his constancy she advised Rosader to make his court to Alinda, who had uttered a hope of finding "as faithfull a Paris" as he was (pp. 75, 76). Neither motive could, I think, have induced Shakspere's Rosalind to give such counsel to her lover.

When Rosader reappeared, after breaking his tryst, it was Alinda, not Rosalynd, who scolded him. Rosader had been absent for three days (p. 95). Sharp were the reproofs which fell on Orlando, who came "within an houre" of the time appointed (IV. i. 38-52). At first, his offended mistress ignored his presence, and continued—as Grant White[1] has explained to us—to banter the retreating Jaques.

[1] *Galaxy*, April, 1875, No. iv, p. 556, col. 2.

Moreover, Phœbe's cruelty did not move Lodge's Rosalynd to utter severer censures than were these. "And if, Damzell, you fled from mee,"—Phœbe had told Montanus (p. 109) that if he pursued her with Phœbus, she must flee with Daphne,—"I would transforme you as Daphne to a bay, and then in contempt trample your branches under my feet. . . . Because thou art beautifull be not so coy: as there is nothing more fair, so there is nothing more fading; as momentary as the shadowes which growes from a clowdy Sunne" (p. 110). Throughout the speech Phœbe's beauty is fully acknowledged. Contrast with this gentle language the bitter taunts of the Shaksperian Rosalind, and the disparaging epithets which she applied to the poor shepherdess's rustic comeliness: "inkie browes," "black silke haire," "bugle eye-balls," and "cheeke of creame" (III. v. 46, 47). The climax of injury was reached when Silvius brought Phœbe's letter to Rosalind, who, indulging in malicious play upon the double sense of the word "hand," sneered at the "leatherne," "freestone-coloured," "huswiues," hand of the writer; adding with surpassing scorn, as though such a defect was, in Phœbe's case, part of the order of Nature, "but that's no matter"[1] (IV. iii. 24-27). Lodge's Rosalynd "fell into a great laughter" on reading the letter, but no gibes followed at the expense of writer or bearer; she merely advised Montanus to transfer his affections to some less hard-hearted fair one (pp. 123-125).

2. Concerning Alinda there is little to be said. Like Celia, she bravely asserted before her father the innocence of the friend whose exile she declared her resolve of sharing. Shakspere omitted this extravagant expression of trust in her friend's loyalty. "If then, Fortune, who tryumphs in varietie of miseries, hath presented some envious person (as minister of her intended stratageme) to tainte Rosalynde with any surmise of treason, let him be brought to her face, and confirme his accusation by witnesses; which proved, let her die, and Alinda will execute the massacre" (p. 37). Through her position of mistress, and from the absence of any special force of character in Rosalynd, Alinda took the lead of her page.

[1] See what the author of *Dorothy* says concerning Rosalind's "no matter," p. xii.

3. A comparison of Rosader and Orlando elicits several important differences of conception: the advantage decidedly remaining with Shakspere's hero.

Orlando was unable to say even an "I thank you," in response to Rosalind's gracious gift and words (I. ii. 261). Rosader was self-possessed enough to step into a tent and there indite a laudatory sonnet, which he sent to the princess in return for a jewel which she had delivered to him by the hands of a page (p. 30). The intervention of the page in the matter may account for Rosader's business-like procedure.[1]

When wandering hunger-stricken in the forest, he wept and lamented that he could not die worthily, lance in hand. The self-sacrificing love of Adam Spencer, who would have opened his veins in order that his young master might be nourished by his blood, roused Rosader from despair, and sent him forth in quest of food (p. 60). No such faint-hearted upbraider of destiny was Orlando, cheering his drooping follower with words of confident hope and gentle reproof, till he saw a reflection of his own undaunted courage in the old man's looks (II. vi. 4—*ad fin.*).

In hesitating to save Saladyne from the lion, Rosader was biassed less by a desire for revenge than by a more far-seeing motive. He should add Saladyne's estates to his own, and his increased wealth might incline Rosalynd to regard him more favourably; it being his opinion that "women's eyes are made of Chrisecoll,[2] that is ever unperfect unless tempred with gold" (p. 88). The cause of Orlando's wavering was a gust of vindictive anger (IV. iii. 128-131); a venial fault if we consider his provocation. Rosader's hesitation was chiefly due to calculating, not impulsive, culpability; and he was unconscious of the wrong which he designed towards Rosalynd. His derogatory estimate of her accords with this lack of moral delicacy.

[1] See *Transactions of the New Sh. Soc.*, 1880-2, pp. 30*, 31*.

[2] Chrisecoll, "Chrystall? But perhaps the same as Chrysocolla, Harrison's 'England,' p. 236." Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic Words.* Cotgrave gives: "Chrysocolle (Chrysocolla), Gold-solder; Borax; green earth, whether artificial or mineral, as Borrais. Borrais = Borax, or green earth, a hard and shining mineral or humour congealed in mines. There is also an artificial one made of Rock alum, ammoniac, and other things; both used by goldsmiths. Borras jaune = yellow-borax, found in gold mines, and fittest for goldsmiths."—W.A.H.

Lastly, with Rosader's eloquent professions of love we have to reconcile the rather awkward fact that, though he knew of Rosalynd's exile, he did not attempt to follow her, but remained at home for, we are told, "a long while," until care for his safety obliged him to depart. I cannot suppose that Orlando could have been so sluggish and unfeeling.

4. Saladyne and Oliver are more akin, and it were hard to strike the balance between them.

Sir John of Bordeaux bequeathed the largest share of his property to Rosader. Hence Saladyne's hatred sprang chiefly from avarice, and fear of being called to account for his malversations. Oliver, whose estate was subject to a legacy of "but poore a thousand crownes" (I. i. 2, 3), had no ground save envy for detesting Orlando.

Saladyne felt compunction for his brother's wrongs sooner than did Oliver, who was certainly impenitent when banished by Duke Frederick. The imprisonment which preceded Saladyne's exile awakened some sorrow, which was, however, not deep, for when questioned by Torismond as to his brother's whereabouts, Saladyne answered reservedly that "upon some ryot made against the Sheriffe of the shire, he was fled from Bordeaux, but hee knew not whither" (p. 65). In Saladyne's presence Rosader related to Gerismond all that had passed between them (p. 93). Celia and Rosalind were the recipients of Oliver's confession. Oliver would doubtless have soon revealed himself as the unnatural brother, but, in his emotion, the truth escaped him ere he had summoned resolution enough deliberately to avow it (IV. iii. 133).

Saladyne's amorous speeches to Alinda, and her replies, are recorded for us. She expressed the conventional distrust of his good faith, and bade him reflect on their inequality of birth (pp. 115-117). How Oliver wooed Celia we are left to imagine: we only learn the issue from Rosalind, who treated the whole affair with much levity (V. ii. 32-45).

Alinda's warning was not unneeded. When, on the wedding-day, the pseudo-Ganymede, having withdrawn alone and re-entered as Gerismond's daughter, was given by the king in marriage to Rosader, Saladyne, comparing his brother's splendid alliance with

his own, stood "in a dumpe" till Alinda declared herself to be the daughter of Torismond (p. 140). Celia's entrance simultaneously with Rosalind spared Oliver this test of his constancy.

Most of us have, I suspect, wondered why Celia should have fallen in love with Oliver, and regretted that she did not choose a worthier mate.[1] Saladyne's display of prowess in the struggle with the forest-ruffians commended him to Alinda; and, in saving Rosader's life, he requited his brother's generosity, and made some atonement for past unkindness. Shakspere did not ennoble Oliver by any such device.

The minor characters now remain to be considered.

5. Adam Spencer exceeded the Shaksperian Adam in fidelity. The former, as we have seen, was willing to sacrifice his life in order to save his master from starvation. This especial proof of devotion forms a repulsive, and possibly an unnatural, incident. Moreover, as Lodge has used it, it degrades Rosader, whose bitter lamentations caused Adam Spencer to offer such a relief.

6. Lodge's Phœbe rejected Montanus's suit "not," as she told him, "that I scorne thee, but that I hate love: for I count it as great honor to triumph over fancie as over fortune" (p. 109). The Shaksperian Phœbe expressed no abstract preference for an unwedded state.

The violence of her passion having endangered Phœbe's life, the disguised page, at Montanus's request, visited her as she lay sick in her father's house; and, arguing the matter with courtesy and consideration,—qualities, as I have already noticed, lacking in the

[1] Swinburne writes: "That one unlucky slip of the brush which has left so ugly a little smear in one corner of the canvas as the betrothal of Oliver to Celia."

"The actual or hypothetical necessity of pairing off all the couples" (at the end of a comedy) "is the theatrical idol whose tyranny exacts this holocaust of higher and better feelings," &c. (*Study of Shakspere*, p. 152).—[W. A. H.]

We may derive some consolation from comparing the union of Celia and Oliver with another example, in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*. If desert alone were regarded, Mary Garth should have married Mr Farebrother, but then Fred Vincy's ruin was inevitable. Farebrother could steer his own course aright; poor Fred could not. We may hope that under Celia's beneficent influence the rooted evil of Oliver's nature was killed, the germ of worth in him—shown by his genuine remorse—quickened, and that he came at last to deserve his good fortune.

other Ganymede's method of dealing with an unwelcome attachment, —drew forth this confession: ". . . so deeply I repent me of my frowardnesse towards the shepheard, that could I cease to love Ganimede, I would resolve to like Montanus" (p. 129). Shakspere did not endow his Phœbe with so much sensibility. We do not gather that unrequited love affected her health; and her feigned pity—preluded by the gracious avowal, "Why, I am sorry for thee, gentle Silvius"—was merely the flattering transition from cruelty to treachery (III. v. 86).

7. Montanus, despairing of Phœbe's life, magnanimously advised his rival to wed her. To Alinda, who said, ". . . if Ganimede marry Phœbe, thy market is cleane mard," he answered, ". . . so hath love taught me to honour Phœbe, that I would prejudice my life to pleasure her, and die in despaire rather than shee should perish for want" (p. 126). If rewarded sometimes by a smile, Silvius could endure the better fortune of another wooer, but his imaginative heroism carried him no further. He told his Phœbe that he should

> ". . . thinke it a most plenteous crop
> To gleane the broken eares after the man
> That the maine haruest reapes: loose now and then
> A scattred smile, and that Ile liue vpon" (III. v. 101-104).

Further, when requested to convey the fatal letter, Montanus, we learn, "saw day at a little hole, and did perceive what passion pinched her [Phœbe]: yet (that he might seeme dutifull to his Mistresse in all service) he dissembled the matter, and became a willing Messenger of his own Martyrdom" (p. 123). The like merit cannot be attributed to Silvius, who was completely fooled.

8. Of the two shepherds Montanus and Coridon, and the fair shepherdess Phœbe, it may be said that they are idealized after the Arcadian model. Coridon, the prototype of Corin, is, both in speech and ways, the most homely of the three. Concerning Phœbe he remarked, "if al maidens were of her mind, the world would grow to a mad passe; for there would be great store of wooing and litle wedding, many words and little worship, much folly and no faith" (p. 102). Before the wedding party went to church he presented "a faire mazer full of Sidar" to Gerismond, with a "clownish

salute" which made the king smile (p. 133). "About mid dinner, to make them mery, Coridon came in with an old crowd,[1] and plaid them a fit of mirth, to which he sung this pleasant song,

> A blyth and bonny country Lasse,—
> heigh ho, the bonny Lasse!—
> Sate sighing on the tender grasse,
> and weeping said, 'will none come woo mee?'" &c.
> (p. 141).

Yet in a wooing eclogue he could warble thus to Montanus:

> "This milk-white Poppy, and this climbing Pine,
> Both promise shade; then sit thee downe and sing,
> And make these woods with pleasant notes to ring,
> Till Phœbus daine all Westward to decline" (p. 45).

On Alinda's wedding day, Montanus "was apparelled all in tawny, to signifie that he was forsaken: on his head he wore a garland of willow, his bottle hanged by his side, whereon was painted dispaire, and on his sheephooke hung two Sonnets,[2] as lables of his loves and fortunes" (p. 133). Touching his love he discoursed in this fashion: "Mine eyes like bees delight in sweet flowers, but sucking their fill on the faire of beauty, they carry home to the Hive of my heart farre more gaul than hony, and for one drop of pure deaw, a tun full of deadly Aconiton" (p. 134).

Phœbe, too, had the same command of tropical language; and her two extant sonnets (pp. 107, 122) are as pithy and well-conceited as are the poetic fancies of the other personages of the novel, most of whom have left us specimens of their powers in this line. When Rosalind and Alinda first beheld her, she was attired "in a petticote

[1] A fiddle.—Nares's *Glossary*, 1867, *s. v.* See the minute description of Coridon's "holiday sute," pp. 131, 132.

[2] Five other sonnets are preserved for us, one of them being in French (p. 106). Mr Collier said: "Lodge appears to have been rather vain of his French compositions, and this is not the only instance in which he has introduced them, either in his own works or as laudatory of those of others. To put French verses into the mouth of Montanus is a gross piece of indecorum as respects the preservation of character."—*Ibid.*, *note.* If the forest of Arden were the forest of Ardennes, French was Montanus's native tongue; but since we find Rosader and Adam journeying to the forest "through the province of Bourdeaux," and expecting by this route to reach "Lions" (p. 58), we are obliged to conclude that the site of Lodge's Arden is as indefinite as Shakspere's.

of scarlet, covered with a green mantle, and to shrowd her from the Sunne, a chaplet of roses: from under which appeared a face full of Natures excellence, and two such eyes as might have amated a greater man than Montanus" (p. 105). Lodge may put in the touch, "a face full of Natures excellence," but we know assuredly that she had not the "leathern hand" which Shakspere has not shrunk from giving to his Phœbe.

The dwellers in Shakspere's Arden are drawn from Nature, Phœbe and Silvius marking the credible limit of rustic refinement, while in Audrey and William the ordinary peasant type is depicted. Old Corin fills a place between these two grades.

9. Of Gerismond and Torismond I have only to observe, that the former did not possess the cheerful fortitude in adversity which distinguished the Elder Duke; and that the latter, in banishing his daughter as well as his niece, showed himself to be a more rigorous tyrant than was Duke Frederick.

It now remains to summarize the results of this examination.

Shakspere's Rosalind and Celia may be called creations: little more than the plot through which they moved being borrowed from Lodge. Shakspere gave to Rosalind the pre-eminence that the structure of the story demanded. Her abundant wit was also his gift. The chief negative change consisted in the behaviour of Rosalind to Orlando after the wrestling-match.

The development of Orlando's character was due in a larger measure to omission and substitution. By a variation in the plot, while economy of time, a dramatic gain, is effected, the hero's unloverlike sojourn at home during his lady's exile is avoided. Again, the breaking of his tryst in consequence of a prolonged ramble is rejected. Our suspicions, that, in spite of his protests, Rosader was but a cold lover, are rather increased when we consider his behaviour—in marked contrast to Orlando — after the wrestling-match. His despondency when menaced by hunger, and the sinister calculation which prompted him to abandon his brother and make his desertion a means of winning Rosalynd, show grave defects of character from which Shakspere's Orlando is quite free.

Instead of Saladyne's avarice, Shakspere, by changing the circumstances, substituted Oliver's envy. Lodge granted Saladyne an opportunity for repairing past injuries. Shakspere denied this to his Oliver. Our attention is solely fixed on the rescue from the lioness. Oliver's repentance is, with much dramatic effect, deferred until that crowning moment, and he is not afterwards permitted in any wise to disturb Orlando's superiority. Yet, by another slight change of circumstance, Oliver was spared the risk of falling lower in our esteem, as Saladyne did when he repented his match with Alinda.

The episode of the hard-hearted shepherdess and her lover served as an under-plot; in strict subordination to the main story. The artificial air which hangs about Lodge's swains, including old Coridon, was dispelled. The Shaksperian Phœbe was simply "fancy free"; not a sworn vestal as was her sister of the novel. Neither did love afflict her with languishing sickness. Montanus's willingness to surrender his Phœbe to a rival was not emulated by Silvius.

To this avoidance of what may at least be called highly coloured touches should be added: the toning down of the "tyrants vaine" in Torismond; and the effacement of Alinda's offer to become the guilty Rosalynd's executioner, as well as Adam Spencer's proposed self-sacrifice, which was open to the further objection that it reflected discredit on Rosader.

Lastly, the deeds of violence which embittered the brothers' strife, the battle that raged on the verge of the forest, and the lawlessness that found a shelter in its depths, have no parallels in *As You Like It*. We can forget the malice of Oliver and the tyranny of Duke Frederick amid the peace and innocence enfolding Shakspere's Arden; cruelty and injustice range without, but may not break, its charmed circle: we can return to that primal age when the loves and caprices of simple rustic folk were the chief tokens of human passion, and dwell again where we "fleet the time carelesly as they did in the golden world."

SCRAPS.

habit, sb. 'in his habit as he liued': *Hamlet*, III. iv. 135. "Enter Skogan and Skelton, in like *habits, as they liv'd.*" 1626. Ben Jonson. *The Fortunate Isles.* Works, vol. ii. p. 136, ed. 1640.—F.

mad, a. all mad in England: *Hamlet*, V. i. "We are all mad (especially here in *England*), mad as the Northern Wind, or Hares in March." 1653. S. S. *Paradoxes*, p. 28.—F.

madly used: Twelfth Night, V. i. 319. "'I praye the why so,' quoth his mystres; 'I think thou art mad.' 'Nay, not yet,' quoth his hosteler, 'but I haue bene **madly** handlyd.'" 1567. Harman's *Caueat*, p. 64, New Sh. Soc.—W. G. Stone.

Prick him: 2 *Henry IV.*, III. ii. 121. "To morrow your father [Sir Robert Harley], if pleas God, goos to Hariford about **prikening** the soulders that must be sent out of the trained bands, which makes many of theare wifes to cry." April 29, 1639. *Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley*, p. 48, Camd. Soc.—W. G. Stone.

Riggish. We still hear as a rather vulgar colloquialism, she goes (runs, or plays) the **rig**, in the same sense.—B. N.

Union, sb. pearl: *Hamlet*, V. ii. 283. Their chief reputation consisteth in these fiue properties, namely, if they be orient white, great, round, smooth, and weightie. Qualities, I may tell you, not easily to be found all in one; insomuch as it is impossible to find out two perfitly sorted together in all these points. And hereupon it is, that our dainties and delicates here at Rome, have deuised this name for them, and call them **Vnions**; as a man would say, singular, and by themselues alone. For surely the Greeks haue no such tearmes, neither know they how to call them: nor yet the Barbarians, who found them first out, otherwise than Margaritæ.—Ph. Holland's *Pliny's Nat. Hist.* b. 9, c. 35, vol. I. p. 255. 1601. This may be taken as a translation of the source of all the notices of the "Union" or great pearl.—B. N.

Touchstone's dial: As You Like It, II. vii. 20. Daniel Gruber, in his *Discursus de Peregrinatione Studiosorum*, appended to Hentzner's *Itinerarium*, ed. 1629, advises the traveller to provide himself with a dial of this kind rather than a watch. "33 [sign. xx]. Solarium vel Horologium sciotericum idque parvum, quo diei quantitatem examinare possit, habeat. Sonans verò minùs tutum apparet, cùm nummorum copiam nebulonibus promittat."—W. G. Stone.

Sans: L. L. L., V. i. 73, &c. &c. As going to show that this, in Elizabethan days, had become an acclimatised English word, I quote from Florio's Ital.-Engl. Dict., 1598.—"*Senza*, without, besides, **sanse**."—B. N.

XV. HAMLET'S JUICE OF CURSED HEBONA.

BY REV. W. A. HARRISON, M.A.

(*Read at the 79th Meeting of the Society, Friday, May* 12, 1882.)

———————"Metuendaque succo
"Taxus." (Statius, *Thebaid*, VI. 101.)

As the subject on which I propose to treat this evening has so lately been brought before you in an excellent Paper by Dr Nicholson, I feel it incumbent upon me to state, at the outset, my reasons for returning to it again. That the question was one in which the members of this Society were much interested was manifest from the very full and lively discussion which followed the reading of that paper. At the same time it was felt that the matter was far from being exhausted. We were reminded by the reader of the paper that the real effects of yew as a poison were even yet but little known.

Since that time I have been endeavouring to find out how far the symptoms, so fully described by Shakspere, correspond with those which have been observed and recorded by toxicologists in connection with deaths from poisoning by yew. I have met with very much that serves to confirm the conclusions at which Dr Nicholson had already arrived; and after communication with him and at his suggestion I propose to lay before you the additional evidence which I have thus obtained.

But though chiefly concerned now with the medical aspect of this question, there are other points of view from which I propose to regard it. In endeavouring to prove the identity between Shakspere's "Juice of cursed Hebona" and the "dreaded Juice of the yew" of the older poet, whose words I have placed at the head of my paper, I shall have to ask your attention, first of all, to one or two matters connected with the criticism of the passage in *Hamlet* which furnishes the subject of our present inquiry, and next to the etymology of the word *Hebona*.

These points it is necessary to consider before I proceed to discuss the question of the effects of yew as a poison.

And first, then, a word or two with regard to the *proper reading* of the passage. In the Quarto of 1603 (Q_1) we find:

"With iuyce of Hebona
In a viall."

In the Quarto of 1604 (Q_2):

"With iuyce of cursed Hebona in a viall";

and this—say the Cambridge editors—is the reading of all the subsequent quartos (Q_3, Q_4, Q_5, Q_6). On the other hand the Folio of 1623 (F_1) reads:

"With iuyce of cursed Hebenon in a Violl";

and this reading is followed by the other three Folios (F_2, F_3, F_4).

Did Shakspere, then, write Hebona, or Hebenon, or neither word? This is a point which it is important to consider at the outset of the inquiry; for if Hebenon be not the true reading, but Hebona, or some other word still more remote in its spelling from Hebenon, we get rid, I think, of Dr Grey's ingenious but very far-fetched interpretation of this passage by the adoption of what is known in parliamentary phraseology as the previous question. Though even with Hebenon to start from, the objections which lie against Dr Grey's theory are obvious and, to my mind, insuperable. Had Shakspere meant—as Dr Grey maintains—that Henbane was the poison employed by Claudius to destroy his brother, he would surely have written it; and had he written it, it would have been so printed. It is a word which was then in common use, and one which would not be likely to puzzle a compositor.

Thus Drayton, a Warwickshire man and a friend of Shakspere's, writes:

"The poisoning Henbane and the mandrake drad."
(*Barons' Wars*, p. 51.)

and again:—

"Here Henbane, Poppy, Hemloc here
Procuring deadly Sleeping."
(*Muses' Elysium*, Nymphid. VI.)

Henbane, moreover, suits the rhythm and metre of the line so very much better, that had it ever been there no one would have thought of displacing it for such a word as Hebenon. Clearly, therefore, Hebenon is not a misprint for Henbane.

Did Shakspere, then, *purposely* write Hebenon as "a metathesis for Henebon, that is, Henbane"? Dr Nicholson[1] has so thoroughly disposed of this metathesis or transliteration theory that I deem it a mere waste of time to add another word to what he has so aptly advanced. But if, as he has pointed out, HenbAne cannot by metathesis produce HebenOn, then *à fortiori* it cannot possibly give us Hebona; since in this latter case we have only got *six* letters in the manufactured word to represent the seven letters in the word from which it is supposed to be manufactured *per metathesim;* and even of these six, one—the letter 'O'—does not occur at all in the original. Thus,

H e n b a n E
H e n b a - O = Hebona.

If then Hebona be—as I contend—the correct reading of the passage, Dr Grey's theory is evidently "in a par'lous state."

Before quitting this subject of transliteration, may I be allowed to say a few words upon another supposed example of it in Shakspere. I allude to the name of Caliban's maternal parent, and the astounding process by which it has been derived (?) from "sorcerer." Have we any need to go so very far afield to find its true derivation? Bearing in mind what Ruskin has taught us, and following the analogy of Desdemona, Cordelia, Perdita, Miranda, &c., may we not see in the qualities of the Sow (Σῦς) and the Raven (Κοράξ) a symbolization of the moral nature of

> "The fowle Witch Sycorax, who with Age and Enuy
> Was growne into a hoope"?

Her foulness symbolized by the sow; her extreme age, her craft, and her malignity by the raven?[2] I throw this out as a suggestion, which, if it be not accepted as final, may at least be allowed to stand till a better one is made. Anyhow I think that it will be considered

[1] *N. S. S. Transactions*, 1880-2, p. 21 *et seq.* [2] Cf. *Tempest*, I. ii. 322.

preferable to the needless obscurity which besets the proposal to get at the true derivation by changing first of all Sycorax into Secorer in order to anagrammatize Secorer from Sorcerer. Nor, pace Mr W. W. Lloyd,[1] is it open to the objection in point of scholarship which besets the theory that the word Sycorax may mean "heart-breaker" (ψυχορρηξ). For this theory would require us to accept the English letters (s, y, c, o) as the proper equivalents for the Greek (ψυχο), for which we have always hitherto required and have been wont to get (P, s, y, c, H, o); to say nothing of (ῥῥηξ) in the Greek being anglicized by (r, A, x). Whereas Sycorax is strictly the English equivalent, letter for letter, of the Greek Συ-κοράξ.

To return to the "Hebenon" of the folio. That this word is a corruption of something else which Shakspere really wrote, I feel perfectly convinced. And I believe that the corruption is due—as so many other corrupt readings in F1 are due—to the tampering by Heminge and Condell or their printer with the text of Q2 or the MS. from which that text was set up, and which bore a much closer approximation than does F1 to the true *Hamlet* of Shakspere.

Would Shakspere, I ask (but this is asking too much), would any one calling himself a poet—the merest tyro in his craft—willingly and of malice afore-thought be guilty of such a line as we find in the Folios, with the execrable cacophony of its three "n"s in the middle —HebeNoNiNa? If so, I would say with Browning, "the less Shakspere he!" It is no answer to say that as a matter of fact we sometimes find harsh and rugged lines in Shakspere. I admit that this is so; but it is when he himself is the victim of circumstances. When, for example, he is converting a page of Holinshed or of North's *Plutarch* into blank verse, and he has to deal with a string of intractable proper names, then we get such lines as these:—

> "That *Harry* Duke of *Herford*, *Rainald* Lord *Cobham*
> His brother Archbishop, late of *Canterbury*,
> Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, Sir *Iohn Rainston*,
> Sir *Iohn Norberie*, Sir *Robert Waterton*, & *Francis Quoint*"
> (*Richard II*, II. i, p. 30, col. 2, Booth's reprint),

though, as a rule, Shakspere gets over these obstacles with marvellous ingenuity.

[1] *Critical Essay on the Tempest*, p. 11, ed 1875.

No such necessity, however, exists in the present instance. If he wrote "Hebenon in a" he must have written it deliberately and of set purpose. Again, then, I ask what evidence have we that he did write it? *Hebona* is the reading of Q1, which, as I believe, represents, though in a corrupt form, Shakspere's first sketch of *Hamlet*. *Hebona* is also the reading of Q2, which represents his matured version of this play. The occurrence of the word, exactly in the same form, in both Quartos is presumptive evidence in favour of its being the word which Shakspere wrote. But what makes the case still stronger and raises this presumption to a certainty, is the fact that in the revision in Q2 we find evidence that his attention must have been drawn to this particular passage. For whereas Q1 reads simply "iuyce of Hebona," Q2 reads "iuyce of *curfed* Hebona;" the epithet "cursed" being added to make the sentence correspond with one in Holland's *Pliny*, which had been published in the mean time, where the same word "cursed" is used, as I propose to show, in a precisely similar connection.

Was there, then, a poison known to Shakspere by the name of *Hebona*, or by a name so like it, as not materially to vary from it? Unquestionably there was. We find mention of this poison in a play written by Shakspere's great friend and fellow-dramatist, Marlowe. In the *Jew of Malta* (III. iv. p. 164a, Dyce's ed.) occur the following lines, quoted by Dr Nicholson (*Transactions*, N. S. S., 1880-2, p. 26):

> "In few, the blood of Hydra, Lerna's bane,
> The Juice of *Hebon*, and Cocytus breath,
> And all the poisons of the Stygian pool."

From a passage in Henslowe's *Diary*, quoted by Dyce (Preface to Marlowe's Works, p. xxiii.), we learn that the *Jew of Malta* was acted in June, 1596, and again revived in May, 1601. Now this last date corresponds exactly with the date that has been assigned to the production of Shakspere's *Hamlet*, viz. 1601-2. It is exceedingly likely, therefore, that he may have heard the word "Hebon" at a representation of the *Jew of Malta*, at the very time when he was engaged in writing his *Hamlet*. Hence the conjecture of Elze is not altogether devoid of probability, that the line as it stood originally

in Shakspere's MS., and from which the other variations have arisen, may have been—

"With juice of cursèd Hebon in a phial."

Without going so far as to say that this was so, we are, I think, quite warranted in believing that such was the line as it may have stood originally in Shakspere's *mind*. But the fact that we find, not Hebon, but Hebona (with the final a) in both the Quartos, forces me to the conviction that Shakspere added the (a) himself; it may have been to give a poetical form to the word, or perhaps because the interposition of the vowel between "on" and "in" (Hebon in) helps to smooth to the ear the rugged sound caused by the two contiguous "n's." If it still be objected that "Hebon in" or "Hebona in" is only a degree better than the cacophony I have already condemned in "Hebenonina", I answer, that may be so; but then the conditions under which the words respectively come into the text are altogether dissimilar. Hebon was, as we have seen, a word well known and in use in Shakspere's day and amongst Shakspere's associates; whereas Hebenon, like "Paramour, is (God bleffe vs) a thing of nought."

With the expression of the hope that in our *Old-Spelling* edition of the text of *Hamlet* we may find that Hebenon has been relegated to the limbo of Shakspere-murdering glosses, I pass on next to the consideration of the question, What is the poison which is here designated under the term "cursed Hebona"? Dr Nicholson has so convincingly proved that by "Hebon" or "Hebona" the juice of the yew is intended, that I need not go over the same ground by repeating the arguments which he has advanced in support of his conclusions. What I propose to say upon this point is merely by way of strengthening, so far as I am able, the position that he maintains, by bringing forward a few additional considerations that have occurred to me in the course of my own reading.

Let me then remind you that two different trees have been mentioned, to each of which the term *Hebon* properly belongs; and that if the question, which is Shakspere's *Hebona*, had to be decided upon the ground of etymology alone, a very good case could be made out for either.

The first is the Ebony-tree; by which I mean the *Diospyros Ebenus* of India, the tree to which alone we are accustomed to give the name of Ebony, that which yields the black wood so much in request for cabinets and mosaic work. But it is to be borne in mind that "ebony" and "blackness" have no essential connection; that when we speak of the raven's ebon wing, or of ebon tresses, or the like, our language and our notions on the subject are conventional merely. Virgil tells us that India alone produces the BLACK ebony ("sola India nigrum Fert ebenum," *Georgics*, ii. 116). But ebony is of other colours as well as black, and is yielded by other trees besides the *Diospyros Ebenus*. Dr Nicholson has rightly said that "Ebenus was applied in mediæval times to various trees." The fact is that the words Ebenus, Eiben, Hebon, Ihpen, and the like, all have their origin in the Hebrew (Hobnim, or Habenim), Ebony, which is derived from *Eben*, a stone, and simply means wood as hard as a stone. The Semitic word reappears in the modern Arabic and Persian ābnus (ebony). Ebony is mentioned in the Prophecy of Ezekiel as one of the commodities imported from Dedan (Arabia) to Tyre. This would be the black ebony of commerce, which would thus find its way into the countries washed by the Mediterranean, with which the Tyrian merchants traded. Hence we find the word ebony, under its various forms of Ἔβενος (Greek), Ebenus (Latin), Ebano (Italian and Spanish), Ébène (French), in use in those countries to signify the wood of the *Diospyros Ebenus*. But derivatives from the root-word Eben (a stone) would naturally also appear under various modifications, in the languages of other nations to which Eastern commerce did not at first extend, as the names of *any hard dense wood*. Hence we find these names applied to the yew-tree amongst the Indo-European group of languages,—the Scandinavian, the High and Low German. And, whereas, amongst the Southern families it is known as Σμῖλαξ (Greek), Taxus (Latin), Tasso (Italian), Teijo (Spanish), Teixo (Portuguese); it is, in German (Eiben or Eben); in Dutch (Iben or Iepen); in Swedish (Eben); in Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic (Heben). That the yew-tree should soon have been known as a "Heben" is natural enough. "The wood," says Loudon (*Encyclop. of Trees*, p. 940), "is hard, compact, of a

fine and close grain, and susceptible of a very high polish. It requires a longer time to become perfectly dry than any other wood whatever; and it shrinks so little in drying, as not to lose above $\frac{1}{48}$ part of its bulk. It is universally allowed to be the finest European wood for cabinet-making purposes." This stone-like quality would, of course, account for its derivation, and its being confused with ebony. When it is further borne in mind, first, that the term by which workers in hard woods are called is, in French, Ébéniste; and secondly, that the name by which the cut-up wood of the yew-tree is known in the various Teutonic languages, is *German-ebony*, the proofs of this connection between yew and ebony are clear enough. Thus yew-tree wood is in German, das Deutsche Eben-holz; in Dutch, it is Taxus-hout or Duitsch Ebben-hout; in Flemish and modern French, Ébène d'Allemagne.

And, moreover, Theophrastus makes mention of a yew, the wood of which is black, a fact which would serve still further to establish an identity between the two trees. (Τὸ δὲ ξύλον· ἡ μὲν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας μέλαν καὶ φοινικοῦν. Quæ in Arcadia nascitur lignum *nigrum* aut puniceum habet. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plantarum*, III. x. 2.[1])

Etymologically then, as I have said, a strong case might be set up either for the ebony-tree or for the yew as being the representative of the Hebona of the text. Hence some Shaksperian critics, who saw the absurdity of the Henbane-Hebenon theory, too hastily assumed that the sap of the *Diospyros Ebenus* was the poison intended. Thus Dyce notes on the passage in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*: "Hebon, *i. e.* Ebony, formerly supposed to be a deadly poison." And in this explanation he is followed by Grant White, by Schmidt (*Lexicon*, sub voce), and others. Whence Dyce obtained his information he does not inform us. On the other hand, Clarke and W. Aldis Wright (Cl. Pr. *Hamlet*, note) write: "This word is generally explained as meaning ebony, but we cannot find any evidence that the sap of this tree was considered poisonous." Dr Nicholson says, that in no work of Shakspere's time that he has consulted is Ebony-juice spoken of as a poison. After a very close search amongst

[1] Evelyn (*Sylva*) speaks of the black and red yew of Arcadia. Ed. Hunter, York, 1776.

ancient and mediæval authorities I can very decidedly confirm his statement. I find it asserted by Solinus (*Polyhistor*, cap. lv. p. 353, ed. Paris, 1621), that "ebony, on account of its supposed antagonism to poisons, was employed by the kings of India for making drinking-cups."[1] The exact opposite, according to Pliny, was the case with the wood of the yew-tree: he says that "drinking-cups made from this tree" were found to impart "a deadly property to the wines drunk out of them." (*Nat. Hist.* xvi. 20.) In Lemaire's *Pliny* (*Bibliotheca Classica*, vol. lxii. p. 109), there is an *Excursus* on the ebony-tree, by the editor, in which he gives a summary of what has been written by ancient authors about the nature and properties of this tree. The juice is described as having a pungent taste, and as being used medicinally as a laxative and sudorific. The writer of this *Excursus* also alludes incidentally to the fact of the word *Ebenus* being used as a common term for several different sorts of trees by ancient writers. ("Potuit apud veteres diversissimis arboribus idem ebeni nomen imponere." *Bib. Class.*, vol. lxii. p. 109.)

Amongst modern authorities, the most complete account of the medicinal properties of the ebony-tree is to be found in Dr Whitelaw Ainslie's *Materia Medica of Hindoostan* (Madras, 1828). The writer states that the juice of the ebony is perfectly innocuous, and that it is used by the natives as a remedy for certain complaints of the liver, and in cases of dysentery.

Ebony, then, is certainly not poisonous; nor is there any proof whatever that it was so regarded in the sixteenth century. If I might now venture to alter Dr Nicholson's words[2] a little, I would say with respect to the hypotheses that have been advanced on this subject; (1) that which tries to show that Hebona is Henbane "has not a leg, not even a wooden one, to stand upon;" (2) that in favour of Ebony certainly has one leg, but one only, that of etymology; (3) whereas the hypothesis in favour of the yew is sound "and perfect of (both its) limbs, even as he (Shakspere) conceived it."

I come now to the consideration of another point, which has not yet been dwelt upon, namely, what Shakspere himself has said of the

[1] Quoted by Bauhin, *Hist. Plant.*, I. Bk. iii. p. 397.
[2] *N. S. S. Transactions*, p. 30.

yew. He mentions it four times in his plays. (I.) In its emblematic character as connected with death (*Twelfth Night*, II. iv. 55, p. 262, col. 2, Folio), in the Clown's Song:

> "My ſhrowd of white, ſtuck all with Ew,
> O prepare it."

(II.) In *Titus Andronicus* (II. iii. 107, Folio, p. 37, col. 2):

> "But ſtrait they told me they would binde me heere,
> Vnto the body of a diſmall yew."

Where again it is noticeable that we get the English equivalent of Pliny's "tristis" ("taxus tristis et dira") in the epithet bestowed upon the yew; and, moreover, it is mentioned as being situated in

> "A barren, deteſted vale . . . .
> The Trees though Sommer, yet forlorne and leane,
> Ore-come with Moſſe, and balefull Miſſelto.
> Heere neuer ſhines the Sunne, heere nothing breeds,
> Vnleſſe the nightly Owle or fatall Rauen."

(III.) It occurs in the well-known passage in *Macbeth* (IV. i. 27, Folio, p. 143, col. 2), where,

> "Slippes of Yew
> Sliuer'd in the Moones Eccliplſe,"

form along with "Roote of Hemlocke, digg'd i' th' darke," part of the poisonous mixture, that, "like a Hell-broth," boils and bubbles in the witches' cauldron.

(IV.) We find, in a passage in *Richard II.* (III. ii. 113, Folio, p. 34, col. 2), an allusion to the yew, which proves most convincingly that Shakspere was conversant with the fact of its deadly qualities:

> "White Beares (Beards) haue arm'd their thin and haireleſſe Scalps
> Againſt thy Maieſtie, and Boyes with Womens Voyces,
> Striue to ſpeake bigge, and clap their female ioints
> In ſtiffe vnwieldie Armes: againſt thy Crowne
> Thy very Beadſ-men learne to bend their Bowes
> Of double fatall Eugh; againſt thy State
> Yea Diſtaffe-Women manage ruſtie Bills:
> Againſt thy Seat both young and old rebell."

In this passage the epithet "double-fatal" is specially noticeable in the connection in which it stands. Why "*double-fatal*"? Evidently not because the bows, under the circumstances alluded to, would do a "double" amount of "fatal" execution. The very reverse would

be the case. They are not to be wielded by stalwart yeomen, strong of arm and steady and sure of eye; but by the trembling hands of decrepit old beads-men. As regards the bows themselves, therefore, *half-fatal* would be a far more appropriate expression than *double-fatal*. But "double-fatal," as its position in the sentence shows, is predicated not of the bow but of the "yew" of which the bow was made;—"double-fatal" because the juice of the leaves and of the bark is a deadly poison, while of the wood itself are fashioned weapons of death. This passage is strictly parallel with one in Spenser, which it illustrates and explains:

> "Lay now thy deadly Heben bowe apart."
> (*F. Q.*, Bk. I., Introduction, iii.)

where it is the "Heben" or yew which is spoken of as being "deadly."

As the question of the identity of Hebon with the yew has been already exhaustively dealt with by Dr Nicholson, I do not now propose to dwell any longer upon this branch of the subject. In what I have to say more I shall confine my attention exclusively to the other point on which he did not enlarge in his paper; namely, the effects of yew upon the system in man and animals, and the symptoms attendant upon cases of yew-poisoning.

It has been conclusively proved by a large array of indisputable evidence that, both by the ancients and by writers in the middle ages and contemporaries of Shakspere, the yew was universally known and spoken of as a rapid and fatal poison. I will quote only one more passage in addition to those cited by Dr Nicholson, a passage which has a decidedly Shaksperian ring about it.

In Lyte's *Herbal*, a book which Shakspere almost certainly read, we find the following description (ed. 1595):

> "The yew, in High Dutch is *Iben-baum*, and in base Almaine *Iben-boom*. It is altogether venimous and against man's nature..... *It grows in the forest of Arden*... It is so hurtful and venimous that such as only sleep under the shadow thereof become sick and sometimes they die."

This expression "contrary to man's nature," which Lyte here has in common with very many other writers—so many indeed as to

make it what Dr Nicholson calls, "a sort of stock phrase"—finds its echo, you will remember, in the passage in *Hamlet*, where the "cursed hebona" is said to "hold . . enmity with blood of man."

But Hebona is further characterized as being a "leperous distilment," and also as being such as would produce upon the body of the victim of its deadly effects, appearances similar in character to those which follow upon the bite of a poisonous serpent. Now, bearing in mind some of the known characteristics of leprosy, let us hear what are the effects described by ancient and modern medical writers, as following the bites of poisonous snakes. Ætius[1] says: "The wounded part turns white; and not only so, but sometimes even the whole of the skin turns white and ulcerous, and the hair falls off." Of the viper-bite Dioscorides says similarly (vi. 47): "An ulceration of the skin follows which not only affects the surface, but spreads beneath it. The persons bitten become comatose." Again, Dioscorides (vi. 52) writes: "The bite of the serpent Cenchrus causes an ulcerous inflammation. . . . . The flesh falls away in pieces."[2]

The following quotations are from the works of modern writers: "Swelling quickly succeeds (the bite), and a mottled livid redness indicating that the skin is involved . . . soon the pain abates, the limb is cold and benumbed; while patches of gangrenous skin announce that the work of destruction has commenced; not, however, disclosing the ravages already wrought beneath the skin in the subcellular tissue; still less the extent to which it may be eventually sacrificed."[3]

Another writer says: "In some cases there is a superficial erysipelatous condition, or an effusion of redness giving an appearance of ecchymosis. As a rule, the body is more or less swollen and abnormally coloured, at times presenting bullæ and unhealthy ulcers. . . . The lungs are dark and congested, and the heart either empty or filled with much dark blood."[4]

[1] Quoted by Matthiolus (*Comment. on Dioscorides*, p. 592*b*, ed. Lyons, 1554).
[2] And see also the passage from W. Topsell's *Historie of Serpents*, 1608, p. 176, cited by Dr Nicholson (*N. S. S. Transactions*, p. 218).
[3] Gant, *Science and Practice of Surgery* (vol. i. p. 320).
[4] Holmes, *System of Surgery* (vol. i. p. 678).

Another writer describes "the most constant appearance" as being "ecchymosis externally on the chest and abdomen, and internally in their viscera, most frequently affecting the intestinal canal, though they may and do occur in any cavity and on any organ;"[1] and he adds that "the venom appears to have a specific influence, such as is observed in the better known poisons."

These effects follow alike in cases of bites from the viper and puff-adder, and in those inflicted by the rattle-snake, cobra, &c., in Eastern countries.

Next as to the effects produced upon the condition of the blood. Dr Douglas Cunningham writes thus:[2] "The red corpuscles were in irregular masses; had lost all distinctness of outline, and become, as it were, semi-fused. The colouring matter had dissolved out; the white corpuscles were in large masses, visible to the naked eye; and the most remarkable thing about them was their extensive distension. It would appear, however, that the specific effects of the poison upon the blood differ according as it is derived from different families of snakes. In some cases the blood is found firmly coagulated after death; in others it is so decomposed and thin as to leak through the various tissues."[3]

In the instance of death from the bite of a cobra: "The tissues were discoloured; the surface ecchymosed; the blood coagulated firmly in all the veins." After a viper bite: "The blood on examination after death showed the corpuscles shrivelled and collapsed." In another case: "The blood appeared to be in a state of necræmia."[4] And once more: "There is a rapid decomposition of the blood as well as of the tissues locally acted upon by the venom. The physical character of the blood is that it is very dark in all parts of the body."[5]

A Paper written in 1843 by Prince Lucien Bonaparte, on the chemical composition of snake poisons, is also worth consulting as bearing on this subject.

One more quotation only I must make, as it illustrates what I

[1] Mitchell, quoted in Holmes (p. 678).
[2] Aitken, *Science and Practice of Medicine* (vol. i. p. 415).
[3] Aitken, *ut supra* (p. 410). [4] Aitken (p. 414). [5] Holmes, *ut supra*.

shall have to say presently when I come to speak of the effects of yew-poison. "Soon after the poisonous bite has been inflicted symptoms of *muddling intoxication* ensue. The victim mumbles incoherently, and *staggering as if dead drunk*, is overcome with helpless prostration and oppressed breathing . . . the nervous system succumbs to the potent poison and the sufferer expires."[1]

I trust that I may be excused if I have wearied your patience by the length and minuteness with which I have given these medical details; but they are all essential to my argument. For I now propose to show you—and this, as not being generally known, I regard as the chief matter of interest which these remarks possess—that the various symptoms and appearances I have thus detailed have one and all been observed and recorded in connection with cases of poisoning by yew. I can show, by a citation of authorities, that the yew is a rapid poison; that it produces the "leperous" effect upon the skin which, according to the medical evidence I have just given, is so marked a characteristic of snake-poisoning; that the ecchymosed condition of the surface of the body; the patchy erysipelatous appearance and colour; the bullæ; the ulceration; the effects specified as taking place in the condition of the blood; the symptoms of intoxication—are, one and all, detailed by observers of the action of yew poison upon the human and animal economy.

(I.) Shakspere says of "cursed Hebona" that:

> "Swift as Quick-Siluer, it courſes through
> The naturall Gates and Allies of the Body."

(1) *Dioscorides*, speaking of the expressed juice of the green leaves of the yew, says that it speedily causes death. "Pota, frigus universo corpori strangulatur et *celerem interitum infert*" (in Book VI. cap. 75).

Wibord, Professor at the Veterinary College at Copenhagen, 1787, administered to a mare the juice of seven ounces of the leaves and peeled shoots of the yew; the result was, *death in one hour*.

Ray, the celebrated English botanist, relates the case of the death of a woman from drinking a decoction of yew-leaves. [Catalogue of Plants, &c., growing in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.]

[1] Gant (i. p. 321).

Gmelin of Tubingen (*Flora Siberica*, p. 265) gives a similar case of a young girl, who had drunk a decoction of the leaves in order to remove spots upon her face.

In both these instances death followed *immediately*.

Dr Hartman of Frankfort (in a paper in the *Nouvelle bibliothèque médicale*, vol. ii. p. 125, 1827) refers to a case in which death speedily supervened upon drinking a decoction of the leaves.

The following, from *Aubrey's Miscellanies*, has been kindly brought to my notice by Mr W. G. Stone, to whom I am also indebted for the reference to Evelyn which follows:

"Mrs Cl.—— of S——, in the County of S——, had a beloved daughter, who had been a long time ill, and had received no benefit from her physicians. She dreamed that a friend of hers, deceased, told her that if she gave her daughter a drench of yew pounded, she would recover; she gave her the drench and it killed her. Whereupon she grew almost distracted: her chambermaid to complement her, and mitigate her grief, said surely that could not kill her; she would adventure to take the same herself; she did so, and died also. This was about the year 1670 or 1671. I knew the family."[1]

In Woodman and Tidy's *Medical Jurisprudence* (p. 290) cases are cited in which death occurred after drinking a decoction of—in one instance after chewing—the leaves of the yew. Upon these they remark, respectively, "*Death very sudden.*"—"*Death rapid.*"—"Death in a few hours."—"Death in seven hours."

The same thing has been observed where experiments were made upon horses, dogs, cats, rabbits, &c.

M. Dujardin, a veterinary surgeon at Bayeux, mixed some leaves of the yew with the food of a horse. An hour and a half after taking these the animal falls dead ("frappé comme de la foudre").

(2) Next, as regards the *powdered leaves* of the yew-tree. *Dr Harmand* of Montgarni successfully treated a child of two years old for eclampsia with two grains of the powder. A fresh attack of the convulsions supervening the next day, the persons in charge of the child, without waiting for the physician's arrival, gave it what remained of the powder, amounting to about six grains; the dose proved *immediately fatal*. (Observations sur l'if; *Anc. Journal de Med.*, t. 83, p. 210.)

[1] Ed. Lib. of old Authors, under "Dreams," p. 64.

Rapid death was also observed to occur in cases where three horses and a cat had been experimented on with the dried leaves powdered.

(3) The ancients supposed that a poisonous property resided in *the flower* of the yew.

Thus *Lucretius* writes (*De rerum naturâ*, vi. 787): "Floris odore hominem tetro consueta necare." *Plutarch* (Symposium, iii. 647, F.) says, that the yew-tree slays those who sleep under it, and that it is specially dangerous *when in flower*.

Glandorpius, a Commentator on Cæsar, writes: "Si quis sub taxo, *dum floret*, domiat certum est mori." These opinions, however, have not been confirmed; no results having been found to follow in the case of experiments made with the pollen of the yew.[1]

(4) As regards *the berries*. Opinions are very much divided on the question whether they are or are not poisonous.

Pliny maintained that they are: "Lethale quippe baccis, in Hispaniâ precipue, venenum inest."

Theophrastus, on the other hand, says that they are not: "Taxi baccas edules esse et innoxias homini." And a Scholiast on this passage adds: "Et sane sunt hujuscemodi in Anglia."

There is a similar difference of opinion amongst modern authorities.

A case is mentioned in the *Revue Médicale* (June, 1837, p. 394), in which a child, three years and a half old, who had eaten some yew-berries, was seized with vomiting and convulsions followed by death in two hours. Four cases are quoted in Woodman and Tidy's *Medical Jurisprudence*, p. 290, of deaths following upon the eating of the berries, at intervals of four, seven, and nineteen hours respectively.

Matthiolus, the Commentator on Dioscorides, tells us that he treated several shepherds and wood-cutters, who had been attacked with an inflammatory fever after eating yew-berries.

[1] Evelyn (*Sylva*, p. 380) writes as follows: "Dr Belluccio, President of the Medical Garden at Pisa in Tuscany, affirms that when his gardeners clip it (the yew), as sometimes they do, they are not able to work above half an hour at a time, it makes their heads so ake." The writer, however, does not explain whether this effect is caused by the pollen, or by the fact that the air is impregnated with the odour of the cut and bruised leaves.

On the other side, M. le Baron Percy published a Paper in the *Ancien Journal de Médecin* (vol. lxxxiii. p. 229), in which he maintains the completely innocuous character of the berries. He says that he ate them himself, a dozen at a time, and that his young nephew did the same, with no injurious result. He also mentions many other similar instances that had come under his own observation, where men, women, and children had eaten them in abundance without feeling the slightest ill effects. He confirms his own experience by that of the eminent physicians, Lobel, Bulliard, and Girard de Villars. He tells us, too, he is assured by the head-gardener of Versailles, where there are very many yew-trees, that children eat them in great quantities; as also do blackbirds, thrushes, and other birds.

M. Percy also remarks that wasps prefer the yew-berries to grapes; on which account, in vine-growing countries, yew-trees are frequently planted in close proximity to the vineyards, in order to attract the insects from the vines themselves.

Looking at the diversity of opinion which exists with regard to the question, as to whether the yew-berry is or is not poisonous, in spite of the abundance of the facts that have been brought forward in evidence, it seems to me that the remark of Brotius sums up all that can be said with certainty upon the subject. After telling us that to his certain knowledge the yew-berries were perfectly harmless; and yet that it had been proved in many instances upon most unexceptionable testimony, "venena fuêre *præsentissima*," he concludes, "distinguendæ ergo sunt *taxi species*."

(5) Lastly, as to the bark of the yew.

The bark of a yew-tree that had been cut down near Montgarni, the residence of the physician Harmand, was accidentally thrown into a small artificial canal there. The fish died in great quantities; cats, after one or two trials, refused to eat these fish; and some of the servants, who were bold enough to cook and eat a few of them, paid the penalty of their rashness in the shape of a severe choleraic attack.

I have thus shown that, with the doubtful exception of the berry, every part of the yew-tree is poisonous; and that it is a rapidly fatal

poison. Before leaving this part of the subject, let me add to what has been adduced the opinions of some eminent English toxicologists of our own day.

Dr Pereira (*Materia Medica*, ii. 334) writes as follows: "The fruit of the common yew is poisonous. . . Its effects are giddiness, *sudden prostration* of strength, coldness of the surface, irregular action of the heart . . . . followed by coma and death."

Dr A. Swayne Taylor (*On Poisons*, &c., p. 784) writes: "A very small quantity of yew-leaves taken fresh may prove a *rapidly fatal poison*."

(II.) Secondly, as to the effects produced upon the skin.

The Ghost calls the "iuyce of curſed Hebona" a "*leperous* diſtilment;" and in describing the effect of the poison, says further:

> . . . "a moſt inſtant tetter barckt about
> Moſt Lazar-like, with vile and loathſome cruſt,
> All my ſmooth Body."

Here it is that I find the strongest confirmation of the theory I am maintaining. No other known poison produces such an effect upon the body as Shakspere thus describes. From the fact that so little is known at all of this characteristic symptom, in cases of death from yew, it has always been assumed that the passage I have just quoted is simply a poetical exaggeration. But it is not so. Shakspere's description, however he obtained his knowledge, is most strictly and literally accurate, as I now propose to show.

Beyond the statement in *Batman upon Bartholomæus:* "the substance thereof keepeth the euill that is called Ignis Græcus—that it shall not quench, as Dioscorides affirmeth and sayeth," I can find no allusion, in any writer of Shakspere's time, to the peculiar effect of the poison of the yew upon the human body, when taken *internally*.[1] I have looked carefully through *Dioscorides*, and through the Commentary of his editor, Matthiolus, without finding any trace of the passage to which Batman alludes. Matthiolus, indeed, says that

[1] But it was known in Shakspere's day that such effects followed, when the juice of the yew was applied externally to the skin. See the remark of Bauhin, quoted by Dr Nicholson (*Transactions N. S. S.*, 1880-2, p. 25), "pulvere taxi adeo *cutim ulcerant*, ut miserabiles ac fere deplorati homines appareant." Bk. ix. cap. 3.

the juice of the yew-berry gives rise in men to inflammatory fevers, and "ardeur de sang" (with which expression I would compare that of Silvester, "blood-boiling yew"), but he does not specify the "lazar-like" condition of the skin as an effect of the poison. There is, however, other evidence in abundance of the fact that such effects do follow; and that they constitute, indeed, one of the most marked and distinctive characteristic symptoms in cases of this nature.

About 40 years ago, the attention of the Hygienic Executive department of the French Government was called to the frequent occurrence of deaths from yew-poisoning, owing chiefly to its employment as an abortive. An *instruction judiciaire* was accordingly issued, in which M. M. Chevallier, Duchesne, et Reynal, eminent toxicologists and members of the Council of Public Hygiene, were desired to inquire into and report upon the nature and properties of the yew, with special reference to its effects as a poison. The result was a most interesting paper, extending to something like 75 pages octavo; which was drawn up by these gentlemen, and presented to the Government, and which contains the most complete and exhaustive account we possess of all that is known about the yew. Its title is, *Mémoire sur l'if et sur ses propriétés toxiques;* and it is to be found in the fourth volume of the *Annales d'Hygiène publique et de Médicine légale*, 2me Série.

It is from this paper that I have derived some of the facts which I have already quoted, in proof of the rapidly fatal character of the poison of the yew. The following remarks of the authors are most valuable for the light which they throw upon the question now before us:

"There is another very singular phenomenon which no previous writer seems to have pointed out as being a characteristic symptom of yew poisoning. We allude to those remarkable eruptions on the skin which take place in the human subject; and which, together with a falling off of the coat, we have observed to follow when a distilled preparation of yew leaves has been given to animals.

"Several writers, indeed, have noted the fact of peculiar eruptions having been seen upon the body after death in these cases; but none have laid sufficient stress upon these as a *distinctive characteristic symptom of the effects of the poison of the yew.*

"This pathological characteristic, however, is so extremely important, that we feel bound to draw attention to it, for the guidance of those who may hereafter be engaged in observations upon similar cases."

This statement is supported by evidence in detail; of which I will cite a few examples only.

In one instance the condition of the body is thus described: "The back and sides of the trunk and the limbs were puffy and swollen, and of a uniform deep red, the colour of a raspberry. The anterior parts of the trunk were of the same colour, but in distinctly raised circular patches."

In another instance where Dr Harmand of Montgarni exhibited the powdered bark of the yew in a severe case of *febris quartana*, he cured the fever in a month's time. But shortly after, he tells us, the patient's body became covered "de gales et de pustules." In two days he lost the whole of his hair. This cutaneous affection lasted for two months, "during the whole of which time, says Harmand, the man 'resta comme imbecile.'" His recovery was slow and difficult. The yew-powder, which had been infused in white wine, certainly proved, in this instance, to be a "leperous distilment."

The same physician (Harmand) reports that a young woman, aged 26 years, of good constitution and in perfect health, slept all night under a yew-tree. He was called in to see her the next morning, and found her covered thickly over with a miliary eruption. For two days she was like a person in a state of intoxication.[1] ("Elle demeura dans une sorte d'ivresse.") The third day the rash suddenly disappeared, a swelling formed on the right knee, which gathered and broke. On the fourteenth day she died.

In the case, before alluded to, of the infant who was poisoned by taking six grains of the powdered yew, it is stated that an hour after death the body was covered with very extensive ecchymosed patches (d'ecchymoses fort étendues).[2]

In the *Revue Médicale* for June, 1837, mention is made of a

[1] In connection with this symptom, compare what was quoted above, p. 308, in reference to the effects of the bites of poisonous snakes: "symptoms of muddling intoxication ensue."

[2] Dr Harmand, de Montgarni, *Observations sur l'if* (Ancien journal de médicine, vol. lxxxiii. p. 210).

death from the eating of yew-berries, which took place in two hours after the poison had been received into the stomach. In this instance the body was found to be entirely covered with a purple or violet-coloured eruption (des tâches violacées). Several other similar cases are given in detail, which I will not weary you by citing.

Let me, however, refer to one or two instances, in which similar effects are proved to have taken place in animals which had been poisoned by yew.

Girard (*Mémoire sur les qualités de l'if*, 1752) mentions that the bodies of two horses, which had been poisoned by eating the leaves, were much swollen after death; and that the coat came away from the skin at the slightest touch of the hand. In eight other cases the internal organs are described as "ecchymosed," as "covered with red patches," &c.; the whole condition and appearances, in short, bearing a very striking resemblance to those described as following in the corresponding instances of snake-poisoning. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790, Pt. II. p. 691, there is an account of the death of three calves immediately after eating fresh yew-leaves. Some dogs, which ate of the entrails of these calves, speedily died also. In all these cases the coats of the stomach were found to be highly inflamed, and the intestines perforated with small holes.

A preparation of yew-leaves distilled with water was applied to the skin of a mare; an eruption followed, very slight at first, the spots being elevated and isolated. This eruption gradually increased during the day. At evening the whole surface of the body was covered, and in many parts the pustules were united so as to form encrusted patches as large as the palm of the hand.

Dr Hermann gave some of the powdered bark to a cat. In this instance death did not follow immediately; but in eight days' time the animal's body was covered with "gales"—a sort of incrustation; it refused food, and died on the seventeenth day.

(III.) As to the effects of yew poison upon the blood. Shakspere's words are:

> . . . . "With a fodaine vigour it doth poffet
> And curde, like eager droppings into milke,
> The thin and wholfome blood."

Taylor (*On Poisons*), describing the post-mortem appearances in a case of yew-poisoning, says: "the heart was found distended with blood of a dirty plum colour."

M.M. Bredin and Hénon, writing of the condition of the blood of a mare which had been poisoned by yew, remark as follows: "Le sang est noir, et ne présente que quelques caillots blancs, peu consistent et d'un petit volume." The black and altered character of the blood is due to its decomposition by the action of the poison, just as in the similar instances mentioned in the case of snake-bites.

One very singular observation I find recorded, which I mention because it bears upon the interpretation of the phrase "blood-boiling yew." Girard de Villars, in a paper, *Sur les qualités d'if*, read before the Academy of Belles Lettres at Rochelle, speaking of an autopsy that he made in the case of two horses that had been poisoned with yew, says: "Les matières qui remplissaient la cavité de l'estomac étaient d'une si grande effervescence qu'ils me brulêrent le bout des doigts."

In the instance of the dogs alluded to above, it is said that those which *drank water* after eating of the calves that had died by yew poison, died immediately; but that two others, which were tied up and kept without water for 14 hours, escaped. "This," says the writer, "seems to prove that yew is innocuous to the stomach unless put into fermentation by drinking after it." It certainly does not prove that yew is innocuous, for these two dogs may not have eaten a sufficient quantity of the poison to cause death. But it does seem to show that the poisonous action is increased in intensity by the "fermentation" or "boiling" property, which has been noticed as one of its characteristics.

And once more as regards the stupefying property of this poison, and its analogy in this respect to the venom of the cobra and rattle-snake already referred to. Let me add two illustrations.

Forty grains of the aqueous extract of yew were injected under the skin of a large dog. In two minutes' time the animal showed symptoms of vertigo; it staggered about and could not hold up its head.

M. Dujardin[1] writes thus :—

"Cette sorte d'ivresse qui a précédé et accompagné l'intoxication, ivresse qui se traduit par l'acceptation des feuilles d'if (he is speaking of animals), je ne la constate que comme un symptôme analogue à ceux qui se manifestent dans d'autres cas d'empoissonnement tels que ceux produits par les alcöols, le laudanum," &c., &c.

Finally, I would remind you of the singularly interesting fact—already mentioned by Dr Nicholson—interesting as bearing upon the point under discussion, and as illustrating still further the analogy between the qualities real or supposed of the poison of the yew and the venom of poisonous snakes — that Suetonius relates of the Emperor Claudius. The historian tells us (*Vita Claud.* XVI.) that the Emperor issued a public edict, in which he informed the citizens of Rome "nihil æque facere ad viperæ morsum quam taxi arboris succum." That the juice of the yew should be held to be an antidote for the bite of the viper, proceeds on the principle embodied in the saying, "similia similibus curantur." I have found a more recent application of the same principle; also in connection with the yew.

Klunker[2] informs us that the country-folk of Silesia have for a long time successfully employed a decoction of yew-wood in milk, in cases where persons have been bitten by rabid dogs.

To sum up what has been attempted in this Paper. Assuming that you bear in mind the lines of argument laid down by Dr Nicholson (*Transactions*, p. 30), I have tried to show, as complemental to what he has stated:

(*a*) That the "Hebenon" of F1 is not necessarily the true reading of the passage as Shakspere wrote it; neither Q1 nor Q2 having this reading.

(*b*) That in accordance with an admitted canon of criticism for determining the value of a reading, which declares, "Such a word is to be preferred as will naturally account for the corrupt forms"—*Hebon*, of which both *Hebona* and *Hebenon* MAY BE corruptions, as being itself a word recognized and in use in Shakspere's day, might fairly claim admission into the text. But

[1] *Revue Horticole*, 4e Série, t. iii. No. 22, 1854.
[2] J. Loeselius, *Flora prussica* (Regiomonti, 1703, p. 266).

(*c*) That it is probable that Shakspere himself wrote the form *Hebona* as a poetical equivalent for *Hebon*, inasmuch as this form of the word is found in both the early Quartos; and that either *Hebon* or *Hebona* makes Dr Grey's "Henbane" theory an impossibility.

(*d*) That Eben (a stone) being the root-word from which the term Ebenus and its variations, Eben, Eiben, Ihpen, Heben, &c., are derived, the yew and the ebony have an equal right, on etymological grounds, to the name Hebona.

(*e*) That the effects here predicated by Shakspere of "cursed Hebona," which do not correspond with those of any other known poison, correspond in the minutest particulars with those which have been observed to follow in cases of poisoning by yew. And further,

(*f*) That there is a very remarkable similarity in the symptoms attendant upon poisoning by the venom of serpents and those which toxicologists have noted as characteristic of yew-poisoning.

(*g*) That the descriptions in the three separate instances—viz. (i) that in Shakspere's *Hamlet*, (ii) those in medical writings on snake-poisoning, and (iii) those in cases of poisoning by yew—when brought together are found to cohere so closely as to raise the presumption into a moral certainty, that by *Hebona*, in this passage, we are to understand the yew.

Let me anticipate an objection. "You have brought forward an array of authorities," it may be said, "*first*, in proof that the yew is one of the trees which belong to the class of *Hebons;* and *secondly*, that the specific effects of yew-poison are just those described by the Ghost in the passage under discussion. But where is your proof that Shakspere knew all this?" I do not think that it is incumbent upon me to furnish such proof. I am contending that the "cursed Hebona" in *Hamlet* is the yew. And if it is said: "Well, but Shakspere did not know that all the effects you have described follow in cases of yew-poisoning; for as a matter of fact many English physicians of the present day do not know it;" I might retort that the burthen of proof rests with those who assume that Shakspere did not know it. Again, I may refer you to the remarkable words of Bauhin about the "impostors who produced ulcerations to such an

extent on their skins, by the use of yew-powder, as to make themselves pitiable objects." Bauhin, who died only eight years after Shakspere, gives in these words, as Dr Nicholson says, "evidence of a contemporary practice." Bear in mind, too, that Dioscorides' *Treatise on Materia Medica* was, in every sense of the word, a most *popular* book. At least twenty different editions of the text, probably more, were published in the 16th century. It was the subject of countless commentaries and criticisms. I have noted the titles of thirty different editions of various commentators, dating between 1554 and 1600. These were in the Italian, Spanish, German, and French languages. Matthiolus' translation, accompanied by its voluminous comment, went through several editions; and being in French was much read in this country, and formed the basis of such popular books as Lyte's *Herbal*, Bullein's *Government of Health* (1595), and other works of the same class to which Shakspere would have access. Besides which, we must bear in mind his intimate connection with one of the most distinguished physicians of the age, with whom his acquaintance may have begun some years before he became his son-in-law.

But I contend, that as regards the fact of Shakspere's knowledge of all the effects, which I have quoted from modern authorities, as following in cases of yew-poisoning, it is no part of my business to PROVE that Shakspere knew them. Yet if he did not know them of yew, he certainly did not know them of any other poison; for no poison except the yew does produce these specific effects. I would go further and say: "There is the passage in *Hamlet* detailing certain symptoms, here is the evidence of experts describing the symptoms which follow upon poisoning by yew. Compare the one with the other, and say if they do not tally in the minutest particulars."

Such are the facts; and I maintain that, until the contrary is proved, we are bound to believe that Shakspere knew what he was writing about. Of course, if any one cares to retort, "So much the worse for the facts, Shakspere *could not possibly have known all this*," I can go no further. I can but answer for myself that the older I grow and the more I study him the more disinclined I feel to say with respect to any subject of human knowledge, that this

intellectual king of men was not conversant with it. I am mindful of a remark—I think of Dr Bucknill's—that Shakspere's knowledge in every department of science is "so extensive and so exact that it necessitates the skilled observation of a professional mind fully and fairly to appreciate and set it forth." Whether it was by intuition, or by study, or by what other means he was in advance of his age, who can say? But this, I am sure, we can all say, that the longer and the closer we look into his writings, we shall with so much the profounder conviction of their truth be ready to assent to those forcible words of Coleridge: "Merciful wonder-making Heaven! what a man was this Shakspere!—myriad-minded, indeed, he was!"

[NOTES ON THE READING HEBENON IN F1.]

Mr Furnivall sends me the following note as a possible explanation of the spelling *Hebenon*:—

"Though I agree with you in rejecting the reading *Hebenon*, yet an entry in the *Sinonima Bartholomei*, 1387 A.D. (Anecd. Oxon. 1882, p. 26, col. 1), helps to explain its form. For *Hyoscyamus*, henbane, we find:—

> '*Iusquiamus*, an[glice] henebon,' cujus est triplex maneries alb. ruf. et nig. sed nigra est mortifera, aliæ duæ competunt medicinæ.'

"Earle, *English Plant Names*, p. 47:—

> '*Jusquiamus*, chenille hennebone; i. e. *Hyoscyamus*, henbane (Ger. Bohme = κύαμος).'

"On turning to the *Catholicon Anglicum*, an English-Latin Word-Book, 1483 (ed. Herrtage, Early Eng. Text Soc., p. 182, col. 2), we find:—

> 'Hen-bane; *Iusquimanus*;' on which Mr Herrtage notes:—'*Iusquimanus* should be Iusquiamus, from the Greek ὑοσκύαμος, lit. hog's bean, but gradually corrupted into henbane, which Cotgrave gives as "*mort aux oisaus*"; Henbane, also Hemlocke.'

"Even without this example of the transposition of the letters in the Latin words, the English *henebon* (or *hennebone*) easily accounts for 'hebenon.' But that Shakspere meant Hebona, hebon, yew, I have no doubt."

F. J. F.

That the word Henbane was, before Shakspere's time, and by his contemporaries, variously spelt is evident from the examples cited by Mr Furnivall. Gerarde, in his *Herball*, 1597, gives also "Hannebane" as the French spelling. It is quite possible, therefore, that the copyist or compositor of F1 may have substituted 'henebon' for Shakspere's 'hebona' (under the idea that he was correcting a blunder of Shakspere's), and that his 'henebon' was misprinted 'hebenon.' That he was trying to *improve upon* Q2 is manifest. For whereas Shakspere had written (ll. 71, 72),

> "a moſt inſtant tetter barckt about
> Moſt Lazerlike with vile and lothſome cruſt
> All my ſmooth body,"

a perfectly intelligible figure, the tetter on the body making the smooth skin become rough like the bark of a tree—the transcriber of the copy for F1 alters 'barckt' into 'bak'd.' 'Crust,' to his mind, doubtless suggested *baking!* In the same way, being ignorant most probably of the fact, which Shakspere knew well enough, that Henbane produces no such symptoms or effects as are described in this passage, but others as distinct as possible from them, he may have altered 'hebona' into 'henebon,' and so caused the corrupt gloss 'hebenon,' which has disfigured all the subsequent editions to our own time.

Gerarde, writing four or five years before the date of *Hamlet*, says of Henbane (*Herball*, p. 288, ed. 1597), "The oile or iuyce *dropped into the eares* is good against deafness." He also tells us that Henbane is *good for curing* desperate ulcers. It is absurd to suppose that Shakspere—whatever might be the case with the copyist of F1—would have attributed such totally opposite properties to his Hebona, had he intended it to be the same thing as Henbane.

Respecting the berry of the yew-tree, Gerarde writes (*Herball*, ed. 1597): "Moreouer, they say that the fruite thereof being eaten, is not onely daungerous vnto man and deadly, but if birds do eate thereof, it causeth them to cast their feathers, and many times to die. All which I dare boldly affirme is altogether vntrue. For when I was yoong and went to schoole, diuers of my schoole-fellowes and likewise myselfe did eate our fils of the berries of this tree, without any hurt at all, and that not one time but many times."—W. A. H.

two and thirty, a pip (*peepe*, F1) *out* = drunk: *The Shrew*, I. ii. 33. The French ambassador at Rome hinted to Guzman de Alfarache, who was then in his service, a wish to be rid of the company of a tiresome English visitor. "Whereupon," says Guzman, "I tooke my friend to taske, I followed him with salt-meats, that were smart and sharpe, and left behinde them a kinde of tartnesse or tang vpon the tongue; wherewith being bitten, he call'd for his coolers, which he tooke almost faster then I could fill them.

"The wine that he gulped downe, was the gulph that swallowed him vp. The glasse vvas great, his draughts answerable, and those often, and this powder tooke so well, that at last he was powdred vvith a vvitnesse, and quite blowne vp.

"When I saw he had yeelded himselfe prisoner to his pots, and that hee was **aboue one and thirty** [*quando lo vi rendido, y á treinta con Rey*], **being many peepes out**, I tooke off one of my garters, and knit a sliding knot vpon the instep of one of his feete, and fastened it vnto the stoole whereon he sate." The severe fall that resulted made the bore cease his visits.—Mabbe's trans. of *Guzman de Alfarache*, 1623, Pt. I. p. 253. In Capt. John Stevens's *Spanish-English Dictionary*, 1726, this game is called "*Tréynta y una.*" The ed. of Aleman's book from which the bracketed extract is taken was printed at Madrid, by Lorenzo Francisco Mojados, in 1750.—W. G. Stone.

aery of children: Hamlet, II. ii. 354-5. There seems little doubt that Shakspere refers here to the Children of the Queen's Revels at the Blackfriars,[1] whose license is dated, 30 Jan. 1603-4. That they were thought the best of their day, the following extract tends to show: "So at the last, after long studie, Lady Lasciuious, with her Beldame Opportunity, growing acquainted with their suite, gaue them this counsell: the yong man to transforme himselfe into an effeminate shape, & so vnsuspected, hee might safely trauell as a she Pilgrime in her company: but for the more safety it was agreed vpon betweene them, that hee should take the name of Dalinda, and present himselfe to the Gentlewoman, seeming by her ciuill shew to be more rich in vertue then in beauty: all which was acted in such quaint manner that they seemed to surpasse *the boyes of Blacke-fryars.*" (?) 1611. Wm. Finner [Fennor]. *Pluto his Trauailes*, or, *The Diuels Pilgrimage to the Colledge of Iesuites.* sign. B. 3.—F.

scare, vb.: *Lear*, IV. i. 59. The little children were neuer so afrayd of hell mouth in the old plaies painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes, and a foule bottle nose, as the poore deuils are **skared** with the hel mouth of a priest. 1603. S. Harsnet. *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*, p. 71.—B. N.

[1] See my Forewords to Griggs's Facsimile of *Hamlet*, Quarto 2, p. iv.

XVI. ON WILKINS'S SHARE IN THE PLAY CALLED SHAKSPERE'S *PERICLES*.

BY ROBERT BOYLE, ST. PETERSBURG.

(*Read at the 76th Meeting of the Society, Friday, February* 10, 1882.)

It has long been granted by a vast majority of critics, that *Pericles*, as it has come down to us, is not the production of Shakspere alone. In his articles on *Timon* and *Pericles* in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 13 years ago, Delius first called attention to the author of the *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*[1] as probably also author of part of *Pericles*. To this conclusion he came as the result of a careful investigation of Wilkins's novel of *Pericles*, and a comparison with the play. His papers were followed by those of Fleay on the same subject in the *Transactions* of the New Shakspere Society for 1874. Fleay fixed on the first two Acts as the work of Wilkins, along with part of the Gower Chorus (to Acts I., II.), giving the rest of the chorus and the brothel-scenes in Act IV. to Rowley. Though agreeing with Fleay in this division, I condemn most strongly his language with respect to Delius,[2] which is only too much in harmony with the dictatorial tone that he, with so little reason, assumed as supreme authority in all Shakspere questions.

Fleay brought forward little or nothing in support of his views, except an assertion that the metre of the *Miseries of Enforced Marriage* corresponded wonderfully with that of the first two acts of *Pericles*. What this assertion was worth will now be plain to those who see, day after day, one result or other of Fleay's investigations proved flagrantly wrong. From one observation he made in the

[1] In Oct. 1879, Mr P. A. Daniel pointed out in the *Athenæum* the fact that Wilkins's *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, 1607, is founded on the narrative of the Calverly murder, which was also the source of the so-called "Shakspere's" *Yorkshire Tragedy*.

[2] *N. Sh. Soc.'s Trans.*, 1874, p. 200, 208-9.

course of his paper, it appears that he had in his hands the means of settling the question on a far more trustworthy basis than that of metrical tests. He had at least looked into the title-page of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in which Day, Wilkins, and W. Rowley wrote together. What I now offer to the N. S. S. is the result of a comparison of *Pericles* with *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* on the one hand, and with the six plays of John Day which have come down to us on the other. The plays I have carefully examined are *Pericles*, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, and *Law Tricks*. More cursorily, *The Isle of Gulls* and *Humour out of Breath*. Slightly, *The Parliament of Bees* and *The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green*.

Last year G. A. Bullen[1] finished a reprint of Day's Plays in 7 parts, the seventh containing Notes, &c. My attention was attracted by a note in this part, showing a most striking similarity between two passages in *Law Tricks* (No. IV of the Reprint) and *Pericles*, II. i. I immediately set to work to examine the play in question, and compare it with *The Miseries*. But before giving the dry results of my investigation, I shall give some slight sketch of John Day's work. I do so without thinking it necessary to apologize, as the scanty support Mr Bullen has met with, both in his reprint of Day and in the undertaking in which he is now engaged, fully bears me out in the supposition that the vast majority of the members of the N. S. S. know little of the courtly old dramatist. We have the names of a considerable number of plays in which Day was engaged with Chettle, Haughton, Dekker, Wentworth Smith, and Hathway. Of these we have still *The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* by Day and Chettle. But the *Parliament of Bees*, although going under the name of Day alone, has long passages corresponding with passages from Dekker's *Wonder of a Kingdom*. (See Bullen's remarks; but the correspondance extends much further than those remarks would seem to indicate.) Characters 4 and 5 of the *Parliament of Bees* are to be found in Samuel Rowley's *Spanish Soldier*. These facts prove that, even when Day figures alone on the title-page, we need not

[1] G. A. Bullen, Clarence House, Godwin Road, New Town, Margate. He has still *a few* copies of Day's Plays undisposed of.

necessarily assume him to have been sole author. With the authors mentioned above, Day seems to have worked together about the end of the 16th and the first few years of the 17th century. A second group of plays begins with 1606—1609, in which Day was helped by Wilkins and Rowley. *The Isle of Gulls* appeared in quarto in 1606. As far as I can see at present, it is of no importance to the question in hand to enter into a discussion whether this play was by Day alone. In 1607 appeared *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in which the three writers, Day, Wilkins, and W. Rowley, subscribe as joint authors. In 1608 appeared *Humour out of Breath* and *Law Tricks*, both with the name of Day alone. *Humour out of Breath* was written in 1608, as it contains the following allusion :—

> "*Aspero.* For my beard, indeed, that was bitten the last great frost."

Now, notwithstanding the assertion of Fleay with regard to *Love's Cure* (which the result of my metrical investigations, *Englische Studien*, Bd. V, Heft 1, ascribes to the year 1622 and to Massinger), I attach great importance to such an allusion. Metrical evidence, as used now, becomes of importance only with regard to later authors. However, there is not even metrical evidence to support the idea that the allusion is to a frost earlier than that of 1607-8. Let us assume then the play was written in the year in which it was published, 1608. In the preface, or dedication to Signior No-body, Day says, "Being to turn a poor friendless child (the play) into the world, yet sufficiently featured too, *had it been all of one man's getting.*" These words admit of only one construction, viz. an admission on the part of Day that he had been assisted in the play by at least one writer. This other author, from the allusions scattered through some prose scenes, connecting it with *Pericles* and *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, was Wilkins. I shall not cite those passages here, as they are not necessary for my purpose. *Law Tricks*, as I said before, was published in 1608. Considering that Day was assisted by Wilkins and W. Rowley in 1607 in *The Travels*, and that Day alludes to some help received in *Humour out of Breath* in 1608, there would be nothing surprising if it should turn out that Wilkins was also engaged in *Law Tricks*. Now *Pericles* was entered on the Stationers' Register,

1608, and published 1609. *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* appeared in 1607. We have thus, in the compass of two years, 1607-1609, ample materials to judge of the question before us. Putting *Humour out of Breath* out of the question, after it has shown us how easily Wilkins may have been engaged in *Law Tricks*, published in the same year, I proceed now to examine *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in order to ascertain the respective shares of the three authors. Mr Bullen has not divided the play into scenes; but as such a division is necessary for consultation, I propose the following arrangement:—

Sc.	i. to page	14.	Enter Messenger.
„	ii. „	27.	Enter the Sophy's Niece.
„	iii. „	34.	Enter Chorus.
„	iv. „	36.	Enter Chorus.
„	v. „	40.	Enter Chorus.
„	vi. „	46.	Alarum.
„	vii. „	50.	Enter Turk.
„	viii. „	53.	Enter Sir A. Sherley.
„	ix. „	64.	Enter Sophy.
„	x. „	75.	Enter Jailor.
„	xi. „	78.	Enter the Great Turk.
„	xii. „	82.	Enter Robert Sherley.
„	xiii. to end.		

Mr Bullen gives a scheme by Fleay for the authorship of the several scenes. I take it for granted that Fleay divides the play as I do, as where the page is mentioned his division agrees with mine. The following is Fleay's plan of the play side by side with my own.

		Fleay.	*Boyle.*
Sc.	i.	Rowley	Rowley.
„	ii.	Wilkins	Wilkins.
„	iii.	Day	Day.
„	iv.	Day?	Rowley? or Day?
„	v.	Day?	Rowley? or Day?
„	vi.	Wilkins	Wilkins.
„	vii.	Rowley	Rowley.

	Fleay.	*Boyle.*
Sc. viii.	Wilkins	Wilkins.
„ ix.	Day?	Rowley (probably).
„ x.	Rowley	Wilkins.
„ xi.	Day?	Day (Jailor's speech perhaps by Wilkins).
„ xii.	Day?	Wilkins.
„ xiii.	Wilkins, pp. 82—88	Wilkins, pp. 82—88.
Rowley, p. 88 to end	...	Rowley, p. 88 to end.

From metrical evidence alone a separation of the work of Day and Wilkins would be difficult. But Rowley has an uneven metre which generally betrays him. Fortunately for our purpose, Wilkins has a peculiarity which is perhaps safer to build upon than metrical evidence—he continually repeats himself. He and Massinger repeat themselves to a degree which renders the work of separation here comparatively easy. I may safely assume then, that when, in scenes which both Fleay and I have agreed to give to Wilkins, I can show Wilkinisms (to coin a word), the scene belongs to that author. For my present purpose it is enough that I show correctly the scenes in which Wilkins was engaged. Whether Day or Rowley wrote the 4th, 5th, and 9th scenes does not affect the present question.

Sc. i. we have both assigned to Rowley. I have only here to call attention to p. 12, "there lives a princess," which shows that Rowley lays the scene in the time of Queen Elizabeth; whereas p. 81, "From my dread master, England's royal king,"—in a scene which I attribute to Wilkins, and Fleay to Day,—shows that W. (as I contend) lays the scene in the time of James.

In sc. ii. a messenger enters. Now, as we shall see later (table of parallel passages), it is a peculiarity of Wilkins's messengers to be in haste. This one is sweating—

"Well, sir, now, your sweating message."

Three such messengers come in in this play, all three in Wilkins's scenes; three in *Miseries*, and two in *Pericles*. On p. 15 occurs a line,—

"Rise till it dim the stars; such your high mind,"

which occurs again p. 46, also a Wilkins scene—

"My mind is high, lie my head ne'er so low."

On p. 16 occurs a passage (see Bullen's notes)—

"They shall have graves like thee dishonoured,
Unfit for heaven or earth: this we prepare;
Betwixt them both we'll seat you in the air,"

which also occurs in almost the same form in *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (see table of parallel passages).

On p. 20 occurs—

"Thou art better go down quick into thy grave
Than touch him,"

which corresponds with a passage in *The Miseries* (see table of parallel passages). In sc. iii. these allusions to *The Miseries* cease. Nor do I find any in sc. iv. and sc. v. The Chorus before sc. vi. makes such a chaos of geography as seldom occurs, even amongst our old dramatists. Sir Thomas Sherley comes from England to the court of the great Duke of Florence, thence to the Straits of Gibraltar, then to Leghorn, then *to the Duke of Tuscan*, then to Sicily, and then to *Chios* (Jeo). Query?—Is not this Rowley's? Could Day or Wilkins have made so much confusion?

With sc. vi. we have Wilkins again—

"Think that the seas
Played with us but as great men die a-land,
Hurled us now up, now down!"

This reminds us of *Pericles*, II. i. 63, 64, and also II. i. 31.

Sc. vii. we have both given to Rowley. Note the number of the prisoners, p. 47—

"Between 30 and 40 of their chief commanders,"

and p. 49—

"Thirty, my Lord.
Those 30 lives shall buy my brother's life."

But Wilkins in sc. viii. did not notice the number of the prisoners and makes it 20. On p. 51 he mentions that number twice. This has been left uncorrected; but in the later scenes 30 are always spoken of by both authors. On p. 52 occurs—

"Thy torments shall be more, thy freedom less,"

which occurs again on p. 78 in exactly the same words. It reminds one of *Pericles*, II. ii. 9—

"My commendations great, whose merits less."

Sc. ix. reads to Fleay like Rowley's, to me like Day's.

Sc. x. is the first Wilkins scene in which we differ. The construction in the fifth line, "Whom we command him kill," is continually occurring in Wilkins, and p. 74 a messenger enters with a sweating news.

Sc. xi. we are both disposed to give to Day. The Jailor's speech may be Wilkins's. It is a repetition of *Humour out of Breath*, p. 58.

In sc. xii. occurs the line, p. 78,

"Thy tortures shall be more, thy freedom less."

p. 80, a messenger with hasty news.

p. 81, the allusion to the king.

Sc. xiii. For Wilkins's participation up to p. 88 I have nothing to advance but the metrical structure and the Wilkinism "I not deny," p. 86. Seeing that Wilkins is acknowledged on the title-page as one of the authors, I think his share in *The Three English Brothers* may be regarded as ascertained. Let us now proceed to *Law Tricks*. Act I. sc. i., I regard as Day's. But with sc. ii. Wilkins comes in. It commences with the very small joke of feeling oneself with one's hands, a joke so small that it would hardly be worth another author's while to steal. This joke occurs in *The Miseries* (see table of parallel passages). Then it goes on with an allusion to *Pericles*, II. i. (see table). If I. ii. be by Wilkins, II. i. is no less decidedly so. On p. 26 there is the continuation of the allusion to *Pericles*, II. i. On p. 27 occurs the allusion to my "she affinity," corresponding to a passage in *The Miseries*, p. 496. On p. 28, "security," there is an allusion to *The Miseries*, p. 515. On p. 30, "here's non ultra writ," a very common saying, it is true; but, considering Wilkins's habit of continually repeating himself, not without value; compare *Three Brothers*, p. 50. The stock-fish allusion on p. 33 corresponds with one in *The Miseries*, p. 534. The page's speech some lines further on reflects *Miseries*, p. 524. These allusions, together with the Wilkinism on p. 18, "I not love her sex," and

the continual side-blows at law and lawyers, render it difficult to suppose that Wilkins was not the author of these scenes. As Massinger speaks continually of the miseries of soldiers in time of peace, and Day of scholars, Wilkins, in a far greater degree, abuses law and lawyers. Of the rest of the play I am disposed to regard IV. i. and V. at least from p. 86 on, as Wilkins's. The allusions are, p. 51—

"Then I shall sit upon your skirts." Also on p. 26.

p. 53—"Two citizens' sons and a poet brought up all (the larks) in the town, flung away the bodies only to have a pie made of the brains." Also on p. 86.

p. 54—"Have we not Hiren here?" Also p. 86. If this scene is by Wilkins, as seems probable, then the concluding pages from p. 86 on are also his.

For our purpose, however, it is only necessary to assume I. ii. and II. i. to be Wilkins's, as—from the network of allusions connecting these two scenes with *Pericles* on the one hand, and with *The Miseries* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* on the other, can hardly be avoided,—in order to establish our position, that the first two acts of *Pericles* are also his. A comparison of these two acts with *The Miseries* shows an agreement in certain grammatical peculiarities. One of these, the position of the negative before the verb "I not love her sex," has been mentioned already as a Wilkinism. When I say a Wilkinism, I don't mean to say that he alone uses it, but that he is one of those authors who use it. Shakspere, Ben Jonson, Field, etc. also use it. This peculiarity is of great use in finding the author of a doubtful passage. If the question as to the authorship of the first two acts of *Pericles* lay between Shakspere and Wilkins, of course it would not be of much use. But, taking it for granted that Shakspere was not the author, it considerably strengthens the evidence in favour of Wilkins. It occurs in *Pericles*, V. iv. 47—

"If in which time expired he not return."

Wilkins uses this construction in *Miseries*, p. 562—"What heart not pities this."

p. 564—"My heart not suffers me to leave my honest mistress."

In *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, p. 86—"In Rome I not deny my brother struck him."

And in *Law Tricks*, p. 18—"Though I not love her sex."

The number of instances of this peculiar construction could, I believe, be largely increased, but these will be sufficient to show the hand of Wilkins in the places above-mentioned. A singular effect is produced by the omission of the relative in the nominative in the following passage: *Pericles*, I. i. 134—

> "Antioch, farewell! for wisdom sees, those men
> Blush not in actions blacker than the night,
> Will shun no course to keep them from the light."

This omission is common in *The Miseries:*

p. 428— "I must speak,
That am his guardian; would I had a son
Might merit commendations equal with him."

p. 483— "Divert the good is looked from them to ill."

p. 519— "Nor that you keep
The company of a most leprous rout
Consumes your body's wealth, infects your name."

This is a peculiarity of construction which is very frequent in *The Miseries*. The list of verbs which were followed by an infinitive without "to" was much larger in Elizabethan times than now, but few writers carried it so far as Wilkins. In *Pericles*, II. i. 65, we have—

> "Entreats you pity him."

In *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in a scene which I give to Wilkins, p. 64, we have—

> "And save a man whom we command him kill."

Wilkins is fond of repeating the same words in the second line of the couplet. *Pericles*, I. ii. 14, 15—

> "And what was first but fear it might be done,
> Grows elder now, and cares it be not done."

Pericles, I. ii. 22, 23—

> "And what may make him blush in being known,
> He'll stop the course by which it may be known."

In *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* we have, p. 19—

> "*Rob.* He was my prisoner; I had charge of him.
> *Hal.* But now my prisoner, whoe'er conquered him."

He repeats rhymes, as in the following instances, with slight variations, *Pericles*, I. ii. 99, 100—

> "And finding little comfort to relieve them,
> I thought it princely charity to grieve them."

Miseries, p. 524—

> "Jest not at her whose burden is too grievous,
> But rather lend a means how to relieve us."

He repeats such a rhyme in *Pericles*, II. i. 10, 11, and II. iii. 46, 47—

> "And having thrown him from your watery grave,
> Here to have death in peace is all he'll crave."

> "Whereby I see that Time's the king of men;
> He's both their parent, and he is their grave,
> And gives them what he will, not what they crave."

The idea of the grave or death is one which he repeats unmercifully, as in *Miseries*, p. 560—

> "I thank thee, butler; heaven when he please,
> Send death unto the troubled—a blest ease."

His characters go off the stage with such a couplet in their mouths even when there seems no necessity for it. He is fond of using a bell in his rhymes, as in *Miseries*, pp. 492 and 540, and continually makes use of the expression "spare not." Taken together with the other evidence, these peculiarities of construction and repetition present such an overwhelming mass of evidence in favour of Wilkins as is not to be resisted. Those who still cling to the theory of the whole play being Shakspere's, have to explain away the difference in metrical structure. Acts I. and II. show the metrical characteristics of no one period, while Acts III., IV., V. are written in close harmony with the date to which we assign it—1608. They have to assume further that Shakspere borrowed to an unprecedented extent small jokes, etc. from a fourth-rate writer like Wilkins; they have to assume that he who had such an eye for stage-effect borrowed the clumsy chorus arrangement which Wilkins

had adopted the year before in his *Travels of Three English Brothers;* they have to explain how Thaisa comes to make such a sensual allusion as that in Act II. sc. iii. l. 32, which is only to be compared with Day's conversation between Dalibra and the Sophy's Niece in *Travels*, p. 27, and with Apemantus in *Timon* (non-Shaksperian), I. i. 210; they have to explain the want of connection between the parts which we regard as added by Wilkins and Rowley (by Rowley the bawdy-house scenes in Act IV.) and the rest of the play, and the looseness with which those parts hang together within themselves; they have to explain the allusions to lawyers and the law (there is another which I have not mentioned in *Pericles*, II. i. 122). These form a mass of difficulties not to be got over except by those who have determined beforehand not to be persuaded. On the other hand, admit the claims of a second author, whom but Wilkins can we assume for the first two acts? As to Rowley's authorship of the bawdy scenes in Act IV., I have nothing to add to what Fleay has already brought forward on this subject.[1] The style is Rowley's, especially the somewhat hobbling yet vigorous movement of the small number of verse-lines which occur in these scenes. So far I agree with Fleay. But when, in his paper on *Timon*, he pooh-poohs the idea that Delius advanced with respect to that play, namely, that Wilkins may have also been the second author there, and asserts in his usual infallible manner that the metre of *Timon* corresponds more closely with that of Cyril Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy* than with any of the 200 plays he had analyzed, one is tempted to ask to what purpose he has analyzed 200 plays when he places together two so entirely different metrically and in general tone as *Timon* and the *Revenger's Tragedy?* There is no trace of Cyril Tourneur in *Timon;* nor is there any trace of Wilkins. If there had been, I believe the investigation which I set on foot with regard to *Pericles*, and which I extended to *Timon*, would have given some result. One negative result I may advance from my work at *Timon*, viz. that metrical evidence will be of little value in deciding the question, but that we must look out for links connecting it with other plays. One faint

[1] The occupation which Rowley assigns to Marina in *Pericles*, IV. and the situation generally, are those of Lurdo's discarded countess in *Law Tricks*.

link I have alluded to connecting it with Day's part in the *Three English Brothers*, but this is unfortunately of no value, as it stands entirely alone. In short, the work with regard to *Timon* remains to be done.

In the annexed table of passages, illustrating the connection between the various plays in which Wilkins had a hand, several of the examples may seem of little value. Granting that this would be the case with an author who did not repeat himself, I must dispute the validity of the objection with regard to Wilkins, who, as I have shown, kept an idea long in his mind, and repeated it, changed or unchanged, in more than one of his plays.

Law Tricks.
(Bullen's Reprint.)
I. ii. p. 25. *Joculo and Emilia.*

Joc. Welcome to Genoa, Madam; and to make a short cut of our long travel, faith tell me, how do you feel yourself since you came ashore?

Em. Feel myself? Why, with my hands: What an idle question's that!

Joc. Then, pray, be you better occupied in your answer: But, Madam, do you remember what a multitude of fishes we saw at sea? and I do wonder how they can all live by one another.

Em. Why, fool, *as men do on the land; the great ones eat up the little ones* (I. ii. 26).

Emilia, Lurdo, Julio, Adam.

Em. Are you a lawyer?

Jul. Faith, Madam, he hath sat on the skirts of law any time this thirty years.

Miseries of Enforced Marriage.
(Hazlitt's Dodsley.)
p. 532. *Bartley and Ilford.*

Bart. And how dost feel thyself, Frank, now thy father's dead?

Ilf. As I did before, with my hands; how should I feel myself else?

p. 539. *Butler.*

O the most wretched season of this time! These men, like fish, do swim within one stream, Yet they'd eat one another.

Pericles.
(Globe.)

II. i. 29. *Fisherman and Pericles.*

3rd *Fisherman.* Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.

1st *F. Why, as men do a land; the great ones eat up the little ones;* I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale, 'a plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful: such whales have I heard on o' the land, who never leave gaping till they've swallowed

Law Tricks.

Adam. Then he should be a good trencherman by his profession.

Lurdo. Your reason, Adam?

Ad. I knew one of that faculty in one term eat up a *whole* town, *church*, *steeple*, *and all.*

Ju. I wonder *the bells* rung not all *in his belly.*

Ad. No, Sir, he sold them to buy his wife a taffety gown, and himself a velvet jacket.

Miseries.

Pericles.

the *whole* parish, *church*, *steeple*, bells, *and all.*

3rd *F.* But, Master, if I had been the sexton, I would have been that day in the belfry.

2nd *F.* Why, man?

3rd *F.* Because he should have swallowed me too; and when I had been *in his belly*, I would have kept up such a jangling of *the bells*, that he should never have left till he cast bells, steeple, church and parish all up again.

MESSENGERS IN HASTE.

Travels of Three English Brothers. (Bullen's Reprint.)

Sc. ii. p. 14.

Enter Messenger.

Mess. My Liege.

Sophy. What makes these slaves so bold to trouble me?

Well, sir, your sweating message.

x. 74. *Enter Messenger.*

Sophy. Your *sweating* news.

xii. 80. *Enter Messenger.*

p. 481.

Butler comes (not with haste).

Scarborow. Clare, here is an unwelcome pursuivant;

My lord and guardian writes to me, *with speed.* I must return to London.

p. 493. *Enter Clown.*

Clown. As men do *in haste* to make an end of their business.

I. i. 161.

Ant. Let your breath cool itself telling your *haste.*

I. iv. 56. *Enter a Lord.*

Lord. Where's the lord governable. Here.

Travels.	*Miseries.*	*Pericles.*
Turk. The *hasty news?*	(*N.B.*—In answer to Ilford,—Now, Sir, what come you for?) p. 559. *Enter Butler.* *But.* Where are you, Sir? *Scar.* Why starest thou? What's *thy haste?*	Speak out thy sorrows Which thou bringest *in haste.* (*N.B.*—These are the only two messengers who appear in *Pericles.* Acts I. and II.)
Chorus p. 34, and sc. ii. p. 18. Our story then so large we cannot give All things in Acts. *Ant.* Our lives are *lighted tapers* that must out.		Compare *Gower Chorus* IV., V., and Act I., Gower 15, 16. I life would wish, and that I might Waste it for you like *taper light.*
	p. 522. *John.* He is more degenerate Than greedy *vipers* that devour their *mother,* They eat on her but to preserve themselves. p. 565. *But.* But will not suffer The husband *viper*-like, to prey on them That love him, and have cherished him.	I. i. *Riddle.* I am no *viper,* yet I feed On *mother's* flesh which did me breed.
Sc. vi. p. 41. Think that the seas		II. i. 31, 63, 64.

Travels.

Play'd with us but *as great men do a' land,*
Hurled us now up, then down.

Miseries.

Pericles.

As men do a land the *great* ones eat up the little ones.
A man whom both the waters and the winds
In that vast teune's-court have made the ball
For them to play upon.
II. v. from *Enter Pericles.*

x. 72.

Scene between Sophy and Niece.
Chorus pp. 5, 6, 34, 36, 40, 89, 90, 91.

Chorus.

Law Tricks.

II. p. 27.

Poly. Give her maintenance? Why, she's of *my* near *affinity!*

Should I see *my* she *affinity* go in tatters? I allow my servants rags, and I were worse than a Jew if I should allow *my* she *affinity* to go naked (V. p. 86).

Do you think I would have maintained her as I did but only for *affinity's* sake?

What said I at first, nuncle? Did I not urge *affinities?* And you

Travels.

Miseries.

p. 496.

Besides, sir, I, being a younger brother, would be ashamed of my generation, if I would not borrow of any man that would lend, especially of *my affinity.*

Law Tricks.	*Travels.*	*Miseries.*
would see me hanged, say an I did not urge *affinity?*		
	Sc. ii. p. 20. *Rob.* Thou'rt better go down *quick into thy grave* Than touch him. Sc. ii. p. 16. *Turk.* They shall have graves like thee dishonoured,	p. 564. So, now your champion's gone, minx, thou had'st better Have gone *quick into thy grave.*
Act II. p. 23. *Enter Pol. and Em.* *Adam.* Pray God, she shake not down his green leaves and leave him to make the Duke his father a bald reckoning. (Said of Polymetes in allusion to the ravages of a certain disease.)	Unfit for heaven or earth: this we prepare, Betwixt them both we'll seat you in the air.	p. 559. *Scar.* Or else turn thieves too and be choked for it, Die a dog's death, be perched upon a tree, Hanged betwixt heaven and earth as fit for neither.
Act II. p. 28. *Lurdo.* Provided this that as our bookmen write, I have security. *Em.* A lawyer right! *Poly.* Security! leases and old rents, castles and town ships, able men, good security.		p. 474. *Ilford and Scarborow.* *Ilf.* Change of pasture makes fat calves. *Scar.* But change of women, bald knaves, sir knight.
Act II. p. 50.	Sc. viii. p. 50.	p. 513—551. *Gripe.* Put me in security. *Gripe.* Provided that men, mortal as we are May have—— *Scar.* May have security.

Law Tricks.

Lurdo. Here's non ultra writ.
Act II. p. 33. *Horatio.*
Hor. Shrivelled bawd, sponge
lemon-pill and more irrelishable
Than o'er dried stock-fish, fie!
Act II. p. 33. *Page.*
P. Heart, a new fashion!
A lady poor, beautiful and chaste?
Clean from the bias of custom.

Title Page.

Law Tricks, or, Who would have thought it.

Travels.

And yet we write non ultra.

Miseries.

p. 534.
I know you to be merchants of stockfish.

p. 524. *Butler.*
But. For I can tell you, 'tis as strange here to see a maid fair, poor, and honest, as to see a collier with a clean face.
p. 547.
Ilford. Ho, Sirrah, who would have thought it!

XVII. WAS HAMLET MAD?

By Dr BRINSLEY NICHOLSON.

(*Read at the 80th Meeting of the Society, Friday, June 9, 1882.*)

Before entering on my prelude proper let me say how much I regret my not having had this paper ready on the date first fixed—the 10th March—and how much more I regret that it is now less finished than it ought to have been by that date. My only excuses are, that naturally procrastinating till I actually commence, I have had much to occupy me otherwise, and that since my last attack I find that I cannot work so continuously as once I did.

Now to my preliminary remarks. The first is somewhat personal to myself. Long ago when the question came more prominently than usual before me, I determined that I would read nothing set forth on either side, and that I myself would not entertain the question, until I had studied and re-studied the play, become better acquainted with its scope or scopes, and also acquainted myself more fully with our dramatist's modes of thought, and manner of carrying them into execution. These probably were flights too high for my wing, but I was content not to attempt the question till after such preparation. Then came my illness, and finding that my knowledge and remembrance of Shakspere had been lessened, and that I was not likely ever to be able thus to study him, I gave up the thought of attacking the question. One day, however, when reading Hamlet for another purpose, a passage suddenly started up before me, and of itself said—I am the answer to that question, though plainly as I have declared myself, you have been too blind and too deaf to hear or see me. I cross-examined it. It still adhered to its tale, nor could I discover any, the slightest, reason for its telling a falsehood. Still undesirous of being led away, I said, if true, all other circumstances must agree therewith. Going over the play, bit by

bit—and as I believe without prejudice—I not only found that they did, but that this new light explained parts which I had thought odd, nay, inconsistent with Hamlet's conduct and character as set forth generally in the play. Hence the following paper, in which I, in accordance with the passage that I have spoken of, answer that he was mad.

Before, however, going through the incidents as I then did, I would, in the second place, say a word or two on madness. Those who have only heard incidentally of it, or have seen with unprofessional glance but one or two instances of it, think that a madman is insane on all points and at all times, and that he cannot be in conversation with you for a quarter of an hour without betraying his state. A gentleman was examined on a writ *De Lunatico Inquirendo*. Each counsel examined and re-examined him until the day was well advanced. Their conclusions were that he was one whose intellect was above the average. A friend of the gentleman now entered, and as he was supposed to know his case the wearied lawyers gave over the examination to him. After a few preliminary questions, he asked in his ordinary tone: "You are God Almighty, are you not?" "I am," was the reply! It may be said this was a case of monomania, while Hamlet shows no sign of being a monomaniac. True; but the man was mad and seriously so, and I quote it as an extreme instance, showing the folly of the idea usually entertained. Passing on, however, from cases where one thinks oneself a tea-kettle, or a glass bottle very likely to be broken by a sudden collision, but where the person is otherwise sane, I know not whether what I am about to relate be as truthful in fact as it is in what it exemplifies, but such cases are not uncommon. A French banker said to a friend, a physician in charge of a large lunatic asylum: "One can at once detect an insane person." "Will you dine with me," replied the physician, "on such a day, and meet a party of six; afterwards you can tell me who among them was the madman?" "Well?" said he afterwards. "My friend," answered the banker, "I had not been any time in the room before I found out the man on your left; his ridiculous views on accumulating a fortune in no time were too patent, as I said to the gentleman beside me, a singularly

intelligent and well-informed man—by the way who was he—'mad, mad as a March hare.'" "The gentleman on my left," replied the medical man, "was the writer, Honoré de Balzac,—the gentleman next you one of my most hopeless cases." Not only is this concealment of their mad points or non-obtrusion of them characteristic at certain times of many madmen, but some will unfold their tales so plausibly that a casual listener may be led into taking them for gospel.

As to the type of madness that Shakspere would represent, I would here say that one of its characteristics is its paroxysmal nature, and I would add, as I shall show further on, that it singularly agrees with the descriptions of "melancholic madness" to be found in contemporary writers. Whether Hamlet's madness were at times absent or merely latent need not be entered into; it is sufficient to say that it was liable to show itself at times of excitement, chiefly those of emotional excitement.

The first point I would take, is in a manner preliminary also. It is, how, so far as can be ascertained, did Shakspere's contemporaries conceive Hamlet? In two passages of Ant. Scoloker's *Diaphantus*, published in 1604, one in the *Epistle to the Reader*, the other on Sig. E. 4, v., the mention of Hamlet immediately suggests or brings in the use of the term "mad" or "madman." In a third at the same signature we have—

> "Puts off his cloathes; his shirt he onely weares
> Much like mad-*Hamlet*:"

that is, having discased himself of his doublet and vest, he appeared in his shirt-bosom and sleeves. Here we have both Scoloker's epithet, and a notice of how the players played the part. Again, in 1605, Jonson, Chapman, and Marston wrote *Eastward Hoe*. In it, one of them, I believe Jonson, ridicules mainly the anachronism of making Ophelia, even at her maddest, call for her coach. Immediately after the entrance in haste of Hamlet a footman, crying—"What Coachman? my Lady's Coach, for shame!"—Potkin, a Tankard-bearer is brought in exclaiming—"'Sfoote, Hamlet, are you madde?" In the scene of two pages the word coach is brought in, and prominently so, no less than twelve times, and in addition to the different proofs of identification given in the *Centurie of Prayse*, 1879, I may add one

accidentally omitted, viz. that the new-made Lady Gertrude sings or recites two snatches of a song which are slightly altered versions of parts of the two stanzas sung by the mad Ophelia at the close of iv. 5. I may add also that as the rest of Potkin's sentence—"Whether run you nowe, you should brush up my old Mistresse?"—have no possible reference to the plot, that is, are as regards this plot or anything in it perfect nonsense, I can only suppose them to be a reference to the revision of *Hamlet* as shown in the 1604 version, or to a supposed necessity for another revision, the popular play, at that time, palling on its then limited audiences.

To return. In the elegies on Burbage, *circa* 1618-1619, the shorter of the two copies in Mr Alfred Huth's library has [Hamlet] "A mad Lover"; in the longer it is—"A sadd Lover." Now I believe this longer to be the later. For first it is longer. Secondly, it has these lines—

> "no more young Hamlet, old Hieronymo,
> kind Lear, the Greued Moore, and more beside."

Thirdly, some of the verbal alterations seem to point to this as the altered and emended copy. But even if we take this to be the first copy, the alteration of "sadd" to "mad" could only have occurred through the association of madness with Hamlet's name.

We now come to the incidents of the play. How does Hamlet make his first appearance on the stage? In the Quarto of 1604, though it is wrongly left out in modern editions, Hamlet who, according to all precedent, ought to have immediately followed the King and Queen, enters after the state retinue and their following, and apparently separate from them. How is he clad? In inky black, unlike his uncle-father and aunt-mother, who appeared—

> "as twere with a defeated joy
> With one auspicious, and one dropping eye."

His demeanour and looks correspond. Claudius' first words to him are—

> "How is it that the clouds still hang on you?"

And Gertrude's—

> "Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted colour off."

The position he chooses to occupy in the ceremonial entrance, his dress, his appearance, the words of the King and Queen, his desire to return to Wittenburg, his ready giving up of this project, which, read by the light of his soliloquy, means—"Very well, it matters not where I am,"—his soliloquy itself, all point to a profound melancholy. So does the description Hamlet gives of his state—"I have of late lost all my mirth, forgone all custom of exercises," &c. &c. And the only reason I touch on matters so well known is that they emphasize the care taken by Shakspere to bring this profound melancholy at once, and by every possible means, before the eyes and minds of his audiences.

For a similar reason I dwell for a little on the causes of this melancholy. The sudden death of his father was one, but there were others more abiding and more secret. Hence he makes no reply to the long speech of Claudius, which dwells on the elder Hamlet's death as an incident in the course of nature. Hamlet has loved his mother as the model of a pure woman. Within a month after her husband's sudden death, a death so sudden that she had had no time before its occurrence to look forward to the future, she marries—and marries her husband's brother. Either she had an excessive love of supreme power, or an incestuous love for this brother. If the latter there must have been a guilty connection, guilty at least in thought, before the death of a husband so loving—

"That he might not beteem the winds of heaven"

to visit her too roughly. The worse construction seemed rather to be pointed to, and collateral facts to confirm it. Without doubt she, with the elder Hamlet, had looked forward to their son as his successor. Now, with indecent haste, she has remarried with that uncle who had dispossessed him of the throne. Polonius too, his father's trusted counsellor and friend, had gone over to the enemy, thrown over his master's son. There must have been some dark and devilish plotting in all this. Lastly, we must not forget the effect on himself of this exclusion. We learn from his own words to Ophelia that he was "ambitious." There is no reason for thinking this an "affected humour"; on the contrary, he returns to it more than once. "How

fares our cousin Hamlet?" "Excellent i'faith; I eat the air promise-crammed." On another occasion—"Sir, I lack advancement." "How can that be?" . . "Ay, Sir, but while the grass grows." Again—"Denmark's a prison, and one of the worst in the world,"—and a fifth time, he says that Claudius has—

"Popp'd in between th' election and my hopes."

Indeed I do not think that we can thoroughly understand the play or Hamlet's melancholy unless we continually keep before us this personal factor, this disappointed ambition, as intensifying all his other griefs. For instance, we cannot otherwise understand his intense dislike of Polonius. The senility of the aged man, and that he was the father of his loved Ophelia, could never have roused such feelings in a generously-minded youth,—

"Th' expectancy and rose of the fair state."

We find Hamlet then in a most profound and lasting state of melancholy, even to the desire for death or suicide, and sufficient causes for such a state. But such melancholy is not only one of the ordinary causes of madness, but was in Shakspere's day held to be one of its most common causes. And here I turn to the contemporary descriptions of melancholia or melancholy madness, which, as I formerly said, singularly agree with the portraiture of Hamlet.

Batman, translating Bartholome, 1582, after a chapter on that form which he calls phrensy, woodness or raving, generally from fever or other disease, thus continues in b. 7, c. 6, entitled *Of Madnesse:*

"Amentia and madnesse is all one, as *Plato* saith, Madnesse is infection of the formost cel of the head, with privation of imagination, lyke as melancholy is the infection of the middle cell of the head, with privation of reason, as Constant[ine] saith in *libro de Melancholia. Melancholia* (saith he) is an infection that hath mastry of the soule, the which commeth of dreed and of sorrow. And these passions be diverse . . . for by madnesse that is called Mania, principally the imagination is hurt. And in the other reson is hurted. [Opressed, in margin.] And these passions come somtime of melancholy meats, & somtime of drinke . . . sometime of passions of the soule, as of businesse & great thoughts, of sorrow, & of too great studie, & of dread:"

Also in iv. 11, speaking of the supposed humour 'Melancholy,'

he divides it into the kindly or natural sort and the unkindly, and says of this latter—

"By the qualytie of the humor the patient is faint, and fearfull in heart without cause: and so al. that have this passion are fearefull without cause, and oft sory . . . and so if we aske of such heavie folkes what they feare, or wherefore they be sorye, they have none aunswere. Some suppose that they shoulde dye in some sodaine vyolence: Some dread enmitie of some man: Some love and desire death [here he quotes Galen]. . . . And therefore he dreameth dredfull darke dreames . . . of which is bred *Passio melancholia*."

Sir Th. Elyot in his *Castle of Health*, 1534, says much the same of melancholy as being natural and unnatural, the latter making one mad, causing—

"oftentimes heavines of minde, or feare without cause, sleepines in the members, many cramps without repletion or emptines, sodaine fury, sodaine incontinency of the toong, much solicitude of light things . . . and fearefull dreames of terrible visions. . . . Moreover much drying of the body, either with long watch, or with much care and tossing of the mind, . . . all these things doe annoy them that bee grieved with any melancholy." B. 3, c. 18, p. 110, 111, ed. 1610.

And Boord again in his *Breviarie of Health*, 1547, ch. 213:—

"Of Lunatike men . . . In English it is named for a lunatike person the which wil be ravished of his wit ones in a moone, for as the moone doth change & is variable, so bee those persons mutable and not constant witted. [Batman also speaks similarly.] This impediment . . . may come by a great feare or study."

Also in his ch. 228, on melancholy madness, he says—

"a sickness full of fantasies . . . that they will think themselves God . . . or to desperation to bee dampned, the one having this sicknesse doth not goe so far the one way, but the other doth dispayre as much the other way. The originall of this infirmitie doth come of an evill melancholy humour, and of a stubberne hart, and running too far in fantasies, or musing or studying upon things that his reason cannot comprehend."

Lastly, in his *Extravagants*, ch. 43, where he speaks of the four kinds of Madness, "Mania, Melancholia, Frenisis, and Demoniachus," he says—

"Melancholia is another kinde of madnesse, & they the which be infested with this madnesse, be cured in feare & drede, and doth think they shall never doe well, but ever be in parel either of soule or of body, or both."

In like manner Gabriel Humelburg in his Commentary, 1540, on the medical poet Quin. Serenus, says in his 7th chapter—I translate his words—

"The third affection of the brain and kind of madness which comes from black and melancholic bile, and is called melancholia, is thus defined by Paulus Æginata:—Melancholia is a certain madness without fever, chiefly caused by a melancholic humor. And those so affected are called melancholics, who beyond nature do not continue in the same manner or kind, whose fancies are variable, while fear never deserts them, but they all fear, and grieve, and have men in hatred, of whom Galen says more in the sixth chapter of his third book."

But Hamlet's melancholy had not as yet reached this mad stage. Shakspere has up to this given us only in this deep and lasting melancholy what physicians call the predisposing cause. The exciting causes, or those which drove his melancholy into an unnatural state, into a mad melancholia, have yet to come, and I confidently affirm that these were—the shocks of seeing his father's ghost, and hearing his revelations.

It is not my intention at present to enter into the morals which Shakspere would illustrate in this play. I do not mean by this that my view of Shakspere's working is, that he fixed upon certain morals and then sought a story to illustrate these; but that as any ordinary reader of a tale or novel can see the moral it would enforce, so I suppose that Shakspere, having chosen the story he would dramatize, was equally able to see these, and would keep them in view, altering, it may be his story, and so dramatizing it as to bring these out the more. But it is, I think, necessary to mention one, which in Bible language is—"Vengeance is Mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." Not heeding this command, the elder Hamlet, still retaining his earthly passions and propensities, the foul crimes done in his days of nature not having yet been wholly burnt away by the penal and purging fires, would take this task into his own hand. He would revenge himself on his brother, and seat his own son on the throne that he had always accounted his. The former intent is of a piece with almost the only other glimpse that Shakspere gives us of his nature, when in an angry parle he smote the sledded Polack

on the ice, an incident which, unless it were given for the purpose of showing that his nature was impetuous and hasty, we cannot understand why it was given us. It was not, so far as we know, in the original story, nor do we see what other purpose it serves. His unannealed and yet impure spirit carries out his intent determinedly, though without warrant. What are the results? Gertrude is not "left to heaven," but is cut off in the midst of her sins. Hamlet becomes a lunatic by his father's very act, and instead of ascending the throne that may be said to have been his, he, the last of his race, dies,—dies in the very act of vengeance, and the kingdom and people of Denmark pass under the sway of a foreigner.

Let us now pass on to the proofs that he from a melancholy man became melancholicaly mad immediately on the shock of these revelations. The feelings with which Hamlet entered upon his expected interview with the Ghost, are revealed by his very first words—"It is very cold." He felt not merely the chilliness of the night, but the chill arising from suspense, fear, and expectation. During the Ghost's words awe, and the filial reverence of that day, which made Laertes thus bend before a living father, would make Hamlet listen on bended knees. The revelations proved such a shock that, as I think, he then fell on the ground. I gather this from his first broken and disjointed words—

> "O all you host of heaven!—O earth!—What else—
> And shall I couple hell—O fie."

And from his next words—

> "Hold, my heart,
> And you, my sinews, grow not instant old;
> But bear me stiffly up."

For here the change from "heart" to "sinews" is suggested by, and denotes, the change of attention from his emotional feelings to his bodily state, and his attempts to change it and once again stand upright. His next natural effort would be to collect his thoughts, think over the new position in which his father's disclosures and commands had placed him. But what does he do? He attempts to do something and so get away from these overburdening thoughts—an attempt so partially successful that we may call it unsuccessful—he seeks for his tables, or memorandum book, to put down—

"That one may smile and smile and be a villain."

Still harassed by his thoughts even after setting down this noteworthy discovery, he adds the word that is to marshal him to revenge. It is—

"Adieu, adieu, remember me."

It is surely strange that he should need a memorandum of his father's spirit's last words; stranger still that he should strive to remember the very words, as through these lost or altered, his revenge would be lost; too strange to be the healthy workings of a mind like Hamlet's.

But now to more certain and less disputable proofs. To the shoutings of his companions, and with an attempt at jocularity—another attempt to get rid of this over-burdening weight, another attempt to escape from himself—he answers: "Hillo, ho, ho, boy, come, bird, come,"—as though he were calling them as a hawk to his fist, though to do so he answers the shoutings of three men by the singular, "Hillo, ho, ho, boy," &c. Again, one would expect that a mind so solemnized by such news, and by the supernatural visitation, in answer to Horatio, who, as his dear friend, alone dared to ask him "What news," would reply in such short, slow and weighty words as—

> "It fits me not to speak what he did utter;
> And now, good friends, grant me this poor request,
> Never make known what you have seen to-night."

But in continuation of the mood which prompted his—"Come, bird, come," he dialogues thus—

"*Ham.* O, wonderful!
Hor. Good my lord, tell it.
Ham. No, you'll reveal it.
Hor. Not I, my lord, by heaven.
Ham. How say you then; would heart of man once think it?—
But you'll be secret?
Hor. Mar. Ay, by heaven, my lord.
Ham. There's ne'er a villain dwelling in all Denmark—
But he's an arrant knave."

The persons that can say that such unnatural attempts at jocularity are under the circumstances natural, or that such attempts are natural

attempts to evade the subject on the part of a Prince whose mere "I wish it to be so" would be obeyed, such persons are not to be reasoned with.

Afterwards in reply to Horatio's—"There needs no ghost, my lord, . . . to tell us this,"—he answers—

> "Why, right: you're i' the right;
> And so without more circumstance at all,
> I hold it fit that we shake hands and part:
> . . . . . .
> and for mine own poor part,
> Look you, I'll go pray."

Is there a hint in the whole of this scene with his friends that he had any such tendency? Well might Horatio reply—"These are but wild and whirling words, my lord." Nor would he have ventured to speak to his Prince so strongly had not the manner accentuated the words.

Again, though one can gather the train of his thoughts, I am quite unable to see the coherence of his speech when he replies to Horatio's "There's no offence, my lord."—"Yes, by St. Patrick; but there is, and much offence," and then goes on—

> "It is an honest ghost, that let me tell you,"

except that his refusal to tell them more leads him to ask their secresy as to what they do know. This done, and all having become solemn, and engaged in a most solemn act, are Hamlet's words at each adjuration of the Ghost the words of a sane man? He has heard of his mother's disloyalty to himself, of her incestuous adultery, of his father's murder by a brother's hand, of his unprepared death followed by punishments which if unfolded—

> "Would harrow up thy soul: freeze thy young blood,
> Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
> And each particular hair to stand on end."

Yet when this perturbed spirit repeats from below, "swear!" Hamlet's words are—

> "Ah, ha, boy! say'st thou so? art thou there, truepenny?—
> Come on—you hear this fellow in the cellarage."

On the second remove and second "swear!" he utters a trite Latin phrase—

> "*Hic et ubique?*" Here and everywhere art thou,

and with as little reason as before—for the near presence of the Ghost could only have given more solemnity to the oath—adds: "then we'll shift our ground." At the third repetition his remarks are—

> "Well said, old mole! canst work i' th' earth so fast?
> A worthy pioner."

And then, by way of carrying out his scheme of swearing without the Ghost, he for the third time removes, and that he may the better circumvent this "so fast worker," starts off into a long speech, one nothing to the purpose, and which could have been spoken as well after the oath had been taken. Shakspere does not indulge in such absurdities without a purpose. Nor, within a few—actually four, lines—does he introduce—boy—truepenny—this fellow—old mole—worthy pioner, without intent. Long ago I had been obliged to see that Hamlet's mind was temporarily—as I had then thought—perturbed. Now the only difference is that on examination I find evidence of this overthrow of reason throughout the course of the play.

Before leaving this scene, it may be as well to add a word on this "antic disposition" speech, as it may be thought by some to go against my views. Hamlet, it will be said, here specifically announces his intention of putting on a show of madness. Quite true; but this may just as well be the subtle endeavour of a madman to make his friends believe that he is only assuming madness, and so turn them off from the belief that he is mad. Madmen constantly fear lest they should be thought mad, and as subtly endeavour to provide against such a belief. I mention this that one may not be prejudiced by these words, but, should he so choose, hold these alternative views in balance to be decided by the weight of evidence. I hope, too, to show that the evidence is not really affected by this passage.

My first evidence is especially unaffected by it, and is most characteristic. It is Hamlet's want of perception of moral responsi-

bility. We have an example of this in the accidental murder of Polonius—a premeditated and, we might say, a just murder which has accidentally found its victim in the wrong person. It is not, therefore, in the murder itself, but in Hamlet's after words that we find this want. He discovers his mistake, and thus mourns over it—

> "Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!
> I took thee for thy better; take thy fortune:
> Thou find'st, that to be too busy is some danger."

Allow that Hamlet disliked him, because he had gone over to the enemy, still he was a man he had no intention to kill—an old man, and Ophelia's father. Yet there is not a word of pity or remorse. Such a want under such circumstances is most unnatural in any one not of an iron heart and inured to slaughter, most of all is it unnatural in young Hamlet as he is depicted in the play. Afterwards, when more quieted in mind by the result of his appeal to his mother, he does let drop this short word—

> "For this same lord,
> I do repent."

But he neutralizes this at once by his after speech—

> "But heaven hath pleased it so,—
> To punish me with this, and this with me,
> That I must be their scourge and minister."

Observe his "punish me," and his assertion in the same breath—an assertion constantly made by madmen under such circumstances—that he is the appointed Scourge of God and the fulfiller of his will, and therefore irresponsible. Afterwards, as showing that we are to take "repent" not in the sense of repentance, but of mere momentary sorrow or regret, he says—

> "This man shall set me packing.
> I'll lug the guts into the neighbouring room."

And again—

> "Indeed, this counsellor
> Is now most still, most secret, and most grave,
> Who was in life a foolish prating knave.
> Come, sir, to draw toward an end with you.
> [*Exit*, dragging off the body."

After Polonius' death we see the same; and here I would also

notice, for brevity's sake, some other points besides this want of moral responsibility. His interviews with Rosencrantz and Guildenstein, and with the king, show his madness in this and other ways. He has dragged off the body and concealed it, clearly under the absurd belief, either that the murder would not be discovered, or that the body not being found, he could not be made responsible; for though he feels and acknowledges no moral responsibility, he, like other madmen, has a secret feeling that others may not think as he does. His words in reference to his attempt are, on his re-entry—"safely stowed." Afterwards he fences with those sent to him, and then with the king. The scenes are very clever, his remarks very acute—so acute as to be eccentric; but are they to the purpose? Has his sudden attack on the messengers, and his likening them to sponges, anything to do with the matter in hand? Is it not rather one of those starts of thought common in madmen when something is presented before them which rouses up some predominating thought? Are his replies to the king of the kind we should expect either from our ideas of what is due to the kingly office, or from what Shakspere thought due to it, or from our knowledge of Hamlet's character? Where in Shakspere do we find a similar instance? Even the headstrong Dauphin does not speak to his weak old father thus. Yet what is the end of all this fencing and attempt at concealment? In both cases Hamlet, like madmen in mostly all instances, gives in to authority and resolution: he follows the two messengers, remains quietly in the custody of one of them, then breaks out, bravado-like, in words before the king; but in reply to his stern demands, ends the indirect answer, "In heaven; send thither to see": with the reply commanded from him.

But there is a still more striking instance of this want of perception of moral responsibility. Rosencrantz and Guildenstein are doubtless docile courtiers, eagerly willing to ingratiate themselves with the King and Queen and to fulfil their wishes. But all that they do is done in manifest good faith; not a word hints even that they suspect anything but affection in the King and Queen towards Hamlet. He, it is true, has taken an unreasoning dislike to them, his unreasoning suspicions not only making them the instruments of

the king, but instruments conscious of ill, in fact, co-conspirators against himself. But, with all this, he never believes, so far as even a single word leads us to judge, that they were anything but unconscious instruments of his death in taking him to England. Not only so, but Shakspere especially mentions that the packet was sealed with the king's seal, and he had to invent a happy accident by which Hamlet could open it and reseal the false document unobserved. Yet he writes this false despatch, consigns them to death, and speaks of his having done so with as much indifference as though he had ordered a couple of ill-conditioned puppy-dogs to be drowned; nay, he exults in it, as though he were in some way revenging himself on the king and them, for the deaths are not only to be on receipt of the despatch, but "no shriving time allowed." Surely if Shakspere had wished us to look on Hamlet as still "Th' expectancy and rose of Denmark," he could easily by a line or two have given Hamlet a reason, if only a fancied one, for so behaving? Or he could have made him write a despatch of different purport. What need was there to replace his death by theirs? Even my unimaginative mind can suggest the unpaid tribute as a likely, and to a sane mind, a more likely subject. And I would say, that we have a right here to draw conclusions as much from Shakspere's silence as from what he says. He must have seen the more than oddness of a sane character showing no signs of a belief in his victims' complicity, and showing no remorse. Yet he pointedly restrains Hamlet from putting forth the slightest sign of such a thought or feeling. I hold this defect of moral responsibility a point in itself sufficient to prove his madness, and this last example sufficient proof of the defect itself. Such non-perception of moral responsibility is one of the clearest proofs of madness; especially is it so here where we know Hamlet's general character, whether as described by Ophelia or depicted unconsciously by himself in all his other thoughts and actions. Hence I have placed it in the fore-front. Let us now ask, how do his other characteristics agree with this? As the next I take his irresolution. Let it be granted that this defect was natural to him, part of his natural constitution. But the excess of it is exactly what we see in many madmen, especially

melancholic ones. Such may breathe out fire and slaughter, but as a rule it is all talk: place them in a position favourable to carrying out their threats, and in most cases, and unless they be under the influence of a more irritating paroxysm of madness or rage, they will do nothing, and probably find a plausible excuse or excuses for this do-nothingness. So it was with Hamlet on more than one occasion. I have already given instances of his want of resolution where Rosencrantz and Guildenstein go to arrest him, and when he is interviewed by the king. Again, we learn that from the date of the spirit interview to that of the sub-play, three, or at least two, months had elapsed. He who had taken out his table-book to assist his remembrance of the harrowing tale had—thought over it! To what did his thoughts lead him—to screw his resolution to the sticking point? No, to this, that the ghost might not have been "an honest ghost," as he had told Horatio, but a damned devil luring him to destruction. And let it be noted that this new idea appears only to have suggested itself to Hamlet's quick mind after two months thinking, after the players had appeared, and after he had evolved this new scheme, by which, as he says—

> "I'll observe mine uncle's looks;
> I'll tent him to the quick; if he but blench,
> I know my course."

Let any one quietly go through all the circumstances, and then, without being a deeply injured son, let him say whether any sane man could account this as but an at first sight plausible fallacy, or anything but a semi-conscious attempt to put aside the necessity for action. Nor let it be forgotten that in this very speech, up to the moment he is about to hit on this play-scheme, he has throughout spoken as though there were no doubt as to the truth of the ghost. I give but the last example of this,—

> "This is most brave;
> That I, the son of a dear father murdered,
> Prompted to my revenge by heaven and hell,
> Must, like a drab, unpack my heart with words,
> And fall a-cursing."

But, as a clearer example, take what follows, when, through the

action of the players, he *has* "tented Claudius to the quick," does he "know his course" and take it? Let him answer for himself—"Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers . . . with two Provençal roses on my razed shoe, get me a fellowship in a cry of players?" The whole intent of his determinate plot is forgotten in the self-vanity of the thought, that his stratagem has been so excellent as to be successful. All is swallowed up in this; so elate is he that he sings or recites a verse where he calls this Claudius not by the contemptuous name of ass, the original word, but in the exuberance of his triumph alters "ass" to a "very very pajock," a painted mammet, whom he by his superior subtlety has overcome and made a mammet of to do his will. Even a second and incidental allusion to the truth of the ghost's word ends in a return to the same thought of triumph—"Did'st perceive?—Upon the talk of the poisoning,—Ah, ha!—Come, some music! come, the recorders."

Yet this is not all. His last scruple has been cleared away, and, in this clearing away, the murder of his father has been brought not merely before his remembrance, but before his eyes. "He knows his course," and within a short space comes upon Claudius in his private closet. No time could be more favourable—none near, the king's back turned, his knees bent, his head bowed, his thoughts elsewhere, Hamlet's sword drawn, every opportunity to escape, with time to make his case known. But no, because this villain happens to be praying, therefore he must go to heaven. Shakspere has himself given the answer to this absurd excuse in Claudius' after words—

> "My words fly up, my thoughts remain below:
> Words, without thoughts, never to heaven go."

It was but an excuse that will not bear a moment's examination. And now mark Hamlet's inconsistency. Immediately after this decision not to kill the king, he, moved by the sight of his mother and his words to her, attacks without scruple Polonius, whom he takes to be the king, never waiting to inquire whether his prayer was truly repentant, nor waiting "till he be drunk, asleep, or in his rage."

Thirdly, it is a common belief that melancholic madmen generally consider those their enemies whom during their sanity they had

loved best. So it was with Hamlet and Ophelia. But unfortunately I must first combat the prejudice which says that he did not love Ophelia. Against this we have the evidence of Laertes, Ophelia, and of Hamlet himself. That of Laertes I pass over, but what says Ophelia to her father—

> "He hath, my lord, of late, made many tenders
> Of his affection to me."

And then to his prejudiced doubts, more strongly—

> "He hath importuned me with love
> In honourable fashion."

And later on, more strongly still—

> "And hath given countenance to his speech, my lord,
> With almost all the holy vows of heaven."

Nor have we these only: she, most sorrowful, yet still keeping her maidenly modesty, says to Hamlet—

> "My lord, I have remembrances of yours,
> That I have longed long to re-deliver,
> I pray you, now receive them.
> *Ham.* No, not I;
> I never gave you aught.
> *Oph.* My honour'd lord, you know right well you did;
> And, with them, words of so sweet breath compos'd
> As made the things more rich: their perfume lost,
> Take them again; for to the noble mind,
> Rich gifts wax poor, when givers prove unkind."

Then as to Hamlet. First take his letter to her—

> "'To the celestial, and my soul's idol, the most beautified Ophelia,—
> In her excellent white bosom, these.
> Doubt thou, the stars are fire;
> Doubt, that the sun doth move;
> Doubt truth to be a liar;
> But never doubt, I love.
>
> O dear Ophelia, I am ill at these numbers; I have not art to reckon my groans: but that I love thee best, O most best, believe it. Adieu.
>
> "Thine evermore, most dear lady,
> while this machine is to him, Hamlet.'"

After the disclosures of the ghost, when he, wrestling with his affection, seeks Ophelia, and is not led on by her appearance before him, but seeks her in her chamber, partly from love, partly from a desire to tell her that he can no longer love her, what a picture of contending love and resolution have we—

"My lord, as I was sewing in my chamber,
Lord Hamlet,—with his doublet all unbrac'd;
No hat upon his head; his stockings foul'd,
Ungarter'd, and down-gyvèd to his ancle;
Pale as his shirt; his knees knocking each other;
And with a look so piteous in purport,
As if he had been loosèd out of hell,
To speak of horrors.—
He took me by the wrist, and held me hard;
Then goes he to the length of all his arm;
And with his other hand thus, o'er his brow,
He falls to such perusal of my face,
As he would draw it. Long stay'd he so;
At last,—a little shaking of mine arm,
And thrice his head thus waving up and down.—
He raised a sigh so piteous and profound,
That it did seem to shatter all his bulk,
And end his being: That done, he lets me go:
And, with his head over his shoulder turn'd,
He seem'd to find his way without his eyes;
For out of doors he went without their help,
And, to the last, bended their light on me."

Next, in the conference scene—

"I did love you once.

Oph. Indeed, my lord, you made me believe so.

Ham. You should not have believed me: for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock, but we shall relish of it: I loved you not."

Can we hesitate which to believe, a word uncalled-for and that has slipped from him, and which to those who do not believe in his love is an uncalled-for and purposeless lie, or, that denial of his having truly loved, drawn forth by the thought that he, of the stock of his mother and uncle, cannot love truly?"

But any hesitation is settled by his conduct at a moment when the truth manifests itself, as it generally does, when the object is beyond attainment. It is only the fox that says that grapes so

placed are sour, and he only *says* so. Suddenly, news is not brought to him of her death, but she is buried, and with maimed rites, before him. Her brother, in an access of grief, leaps into her grave to take a last farewell. There was no need for Hamlet to come from his concealment, and sham a fit of phrenzy, his character as a madman had been too firmly established to require such an artifice. Nor does he refer to it as anything but a truthful outburst, "But sure," says he to Horatio—

> "The bravery of his grief did put me
> Into a towering passion."

Neither does a non-lover, or even an ordinary lover, become furious because a brother shows that he is distracted with grief. But what says Hamlet—

> "I will fight with him upon this theme,
> Until my eyelids will no longer wag.
> I lov'd Ophelia; forty thousand brothers
> Could not, with all their quantity of love,
> Make up my sum."

And again—

> "'Swounds, show me what thou'lt do?
> . . . . . .
> I'll do it.—Dost thou come here to whine?
> To outface me with leaping in her grave?"

And here, by the way, I would remark, that after this most passionate speech, in its phrenzy almost ranting, the Queen exclaims—

> "This is mere madness:
> . . . . . .
> Anon, as patient as the female dove,
> . . . . . .
> His silence will sit drooping."

And as though to confirm the truth of her words, he is not silent, but drops on the moment to—

> "Hear you, sir;
> What is the reason that you use me thus?
> I lov'd you ever."

He says this, quite ignoring the fact that it was his sudden appearance, and his words ending, "This is I, Hamlet the Dane," his "forty thousand brothers," &c., and his instant leap into the grave, that had brought about the struggle.

These tenders, these importunities, these vows to and before heaven, as Ophelia with increasing earnestness assured her father, these gifts given with words of such sweet breath, notably the one letter that we have, his distracted behaviour when he determines to give her up, his direct words—"I did love you once"; his proofs at her burial that this love had continued, all these were marks of true love. Or, we must believe with Polonius and Laertes that they were elaborately set springes to catch one poor woodcock, mere implorators of unholy suits. Nor is this all, we must believe that Hamlet's distracted regrets in the chamber scene were put on without purpose, since from that moment he gave her up; his "I did love thee once," and his evident regrets in the get thee to a nunnery scene; most of all his outcry over her dead body "I lov'd Ophelia," for now that she was dead what effect could it have had on her, all these were useless lies. In fine, we must believe that Hamlet inwardly was the very image of his uncle,—though a senseless one,—and that he too "smiled and smiled and was a villain."

Leaving it to my hearers which view is the more borne out by the facts, and which the more consistent, I return to our primary subject, that he now considers his once loved Ophelia as one to be hated. Not, as I have, I hope, shown, that his madness had all its own way; it forced him as a rule to hate and despise her, but his old love would still at any opportunity raise its head. It was a madness of intellect, not of feeling, and feeling now and then all but got the upper hand. One can understand Hamlet's melancholy deepening into unnatural melancholy on the revelation, amidst a revelation of horrors, that his once loved mother whom he had thought the pattern of her sex, was guilty of treachery, deceit, and the foulest crimes; and one can thence understand how to him this goodly frame, including himself and her he had loved, was but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. We can understand it the more if we add to this the altered behaviour of Ophelia to himself, due, though Hamlet knew nothing of this, to her father's express commands. But here I would enter a necessary caveat. It is, I think, impossible, looking to her sorrowful and reproachful

re-delivery of his gifts, to suppose that she had done more than avoid him. Looking also to her words—

"How does your honour for this many a day?"

and to those where she describes his coming into her chamber, and remembering what we know of Hamlet's thoughts as expressed in "for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it," we can see that his desertion and avoidance of her gave her no opportunity of showing that she wished to avoid him. In fact, each avoided the other, and we must ever remember that Hamlet's determination not to love Ophelia was founded not merely on her supposed unworthiness, but also on his own supposed unworthiness. We might also add her apparently possible participation in the stratagem arranged between Polonius and Claudius. Yet there is no evidence in the play that she was a conscious instrument. She is on the stage while it is discussed, but in those days daughters and inferiors kept at a discreet distance unless they were addressed. Besides, much talk goes on on the stage, and much more at that time went on, which was not supposed to be heard by the rest. Neither, it will be observed, is anything addressed to her which implies a knowledge that there were to be listeners. Indeed, in proof that she knew nothing of this are her father's words to her when evidently about to narrate what had passed.

"How now, Ophelia,
You need not tell us what lord Hamlet said;
We heard it all."

Neither can I see how Hamlet's loving and acute mind when sane and unprejudiced, could help coming to the conclusion that she had been made to play an unconscious part. But allow all weight to these suspicious circumstances, and casting aside all these remarks of mine, still I cannot understand any but a diseased mind being so imbued with dislike to Ophelia, that the mere sight of Polonius awakens them, and causes the senile old man to say "still harping on my daughter." Nor, except on this view, can I understand why the result of her pathetic re-delivery of his gifts, an appeal when she evidently could not resist making a last effort to recall his love, should end in the repetitions

of "get thee to a nunnery," harsh and brutal words, where we, like Ophelia, lose all traces of—

> "The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword,
> The glass of fashion and the mould of form."

She has heard him now, and seen him when in her chamber he took her by the wrist, can we be surprised at her conclusion—

> "O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown."

Will the upholders of the pretended madness theory aver that this "get thee to a nunnery" scene is but an instance where he carries out his project? He had already established the belief he wished in the King and Queen, and in all around them, yet he is unnecessarily made to be so devoid of all honourable and gentleman-like feeling as to exhibit himself not only as a madman, but as adding words and insults befitting only a vulgar blackguard before the lady he loved, and whom he knew loved him. So can we say much the same of the preceding scene, when all disordered in dress he came before her. His reputation for madness was not then established, but his aim would have been gained by trying to impress Polonius with the belief that the cloud was like a camel, a weasel, or a whale. Even grant that he thought it necessary to prove it to her also, surely a true gentleman, a true Prince, most surely a Hamlet would have done his spriting gently. But he does not wait for an opportunity, but seeks her and thrusts it upon her. For my part I can but see in that dislike, which he thinks the result of his better reason, whether turned on her or on himself, the result of disordered reason intermixed with his old love, an intermixture which Shakspere has so wonderfully depicted as struggling the one with the other. The former bears rule until the time when his sorrow and love reassert themselves supremely, I mean when he finds that she is lost to him for ever. Then they will not allow a brother to express them in his presence, but cause him to cry aloud in tones of passionate regret, and in terms betokening his sole right to the possession of such feelings, exclaim—

> "This is I,
> Hamlet the Dane.
> I lov'd Ophelia: forty thousand brothers

Could not, with all their quantity of love,
Make up my sum."

I would also notice, but only notice, Hamlet's suspicions as a frequent characteristic of madness. I speak not of his suspicions as to the packet for England,—these were natural;—but of that suspicion which during his interview with Ophelia made him look out for listeners, and detect Polonius and Claudius. And notably his suspicions of Rosencrantz and Guildenstein, for, as I have before said, Shakspere, contrary to his usual practice in such cases, has given Hamlet no ghost of a reason for such suspicions. Yet after the confession following a short and natural hesitancy—"My lord, we were sent for," he still says—

"Whom I will trust as adders fang'd."

I add this other point, that in *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Belleforest* there is no story of the ghost and his revelations,—only the recital of Hamlet's pretended madness taken up for policy's sake and for revenge, and the successful issue of his schemes in his ascent of the throne of Denmark. Now what reason can be assigned for Shakspere's variation in two points—the appearance of the ghost and the hideous tale he unfolds, and Hamlet's death when on the point of ascending the throne? As we know nothing of the older Hamlet, except that the ghost appeared in it, I say nothing of it, except that Shakspere was not compelled to follow it any more than he was compelled to follow the history or the tale. He would be the less induced to do this because in 1594—as is pointed out by Mr. Collier—it seems to have been a play that had lost its interest with the public, it was performed but once, and then only brought in eight shillings as Henslow's share, "though when new pieces were represented, his proportion at the same period was usually more than three pounds."—Collier's *Sh. Lib.*, Introd. to *Hamlet*. In our play the violent deaths and other horrors are sufficiently fearful without adding the death of Hamlet. I feel convinced, and so I think will be my readers on calm reflection, that—to the ordinary spectators the payers and causes of success to a tragedy, and also to the thinking spectator—Hamlet's success would have been more grateful, and

made the story seem more complete. Vices repulsively shown, and their overthrow, were shown forth more than plentifully, and on the stage itself. The guilty Polonius dies, his guilty son dies, and so does the innocent Ophelia, the sins of the father being visited on the children; Gertrude dies, lastly, as suddenly and unexpectedly as did his murdered brother, and as indeed do all; the arch-contriver of the ills dies with but one unavailing cry. Virtue, with which in the form of Hamlet the spectator has been led to sympathize all along, is successful, but the results so slightly shown as not to dull the story of the vice or lessen one's detestation of it. Nor do I believe that any spectator or critic at the present day would carp at it and say it was not a tragedy, or not a thrilling play, but would have judged it as thrilling and admired it as a more complete story, though they learned nothing more of Hamlet's history beyond his final victory and the subtle craftiness, skill, and wisdom with which he had attained it. Such satisfaction would in no way have lessened the detestation of the crimes or the horror at the tragic results that followed them, rather, these only indicated results would have enhanced such feelings by the contrast of virtue triumphant.

Why then did Shakspere vary in these two points from *Saxo* and *Belleforest*? He must surely have had some good reason or reasons. The ghost incidents of the older play were too thrilling and effective to be set aside, particularly as it was already familiar to play-goers, and would have been missed. But whether the death of Hamlet was or was not in the older play, why was the catastrophe of the history and tale thus varied? For, I think, this reason. The general story had, as I conceive, led Shakspere to see that it plainly exemplified two moral laws, the subjects of much teaching and of many sermons, and at that time fully and generally believed in. These are, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord," and "I will visit the sins of the parents"—not merely the restricted Jewish phrase, "of the father's," for they thought them the sole, or at least chief, progenitors of families—"the sins of the parents upon the children." At least I know that Shakspere's story had led me to the conclusion that he had these laws before him when constructing

his plot, and had led me to this long before the question of Hamlet's madness had come prominently before me, and are not dependent on my present belief. But in *Saxo* and *Belleforest* the death of the prime personage did not occur till some time after the incidents narrated in the play. The introduction, however, of the ghost gave more cause for exemplifying the action of these laws in Hamlet's case, and for accelerating his death. As I have already attempted to explain, the unauthorized desire for and attempt at revenge of a ghost whose sins had not yet been purged away was in itself a sin to be punished. It was punished. The very shock of the appearance of the ghost and his revelations turned Hamlet from a melancholy man to a melancholic madman; and when at last—more through the exigency of events than through his own will—he had carried out his father's commands, he in the instant of triumph falls, dies, and thus carries out the law, as it had been carried out in Laertes and Ophelia—"I will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children." Such a plot also, I would point out, necessitates, even to the uncritical and merely listening and eye-agape spectator, the death of Hamlet, for a mad Hamlet could not ascend the throne.

Leaving this, I now conclude by passing on to the passage I spoke of at the outset—Hamlet's own declaration. I speak not of that in Rosencrantz's words—"He does confess he feels himself distracted;" nor those on which this seems to have been founded—"I am but mad north north-west," and the speech beginning "I will tell you why . . . I have of late," &c. (II. ii.); nor do I refer to his "Sir, I cannot make you an wholesome answer; my wit's diseased." These, while on the theory of pretended madness they be falsehoods, yet may be considered as pardonable falsehoods, though as they are direct and profitable falsehoods, one judging from Hamlet's conscientious and generally honourable character, would rather believe that he would avoid such direct untruths, and have trusted to the inferences people would draw from his conduct. But I refer to a more marked saying spoken on a solemn occasion, first, however, drawing your attention to a previous speech. Horatio has said—

> "It must be shortly known to him from England,
> What is the issue of the business there."

To this Hamlet replies—

> "It will be short: the interim is mine;
> And a man's life no more than to say, one."

Here I interpolate that the life of Claudius since the ghost's revelations, or even since the play scene, has been a good deal longer than one. It is still the characteristic of madness—to let I would wait upon I will not. Then he continues—

> "But I am very sorry, good Horatio,
> That to Laertes I forgot myself;
> For by the image of my cause, I see
> The portraiture of his: I'll court his favours:
> But, sure, the bravery of his grief did put me
> Into a towering passion."

Why the sympathetic grief of a brother should put a sane lover into a towering passion I leave as a question for sane men. But I have quoted both speeches at length, to show that Shakspere expressly and of intent aforethought introduced these words about Laertes, where there was no other necessity for them, only that the audience might contrast his generous mind and its nobleness with the villanies that filled the hearts and minds of Claudius and Laertes; secondly, that it might be shown that Hamlet's words that I am now to quote were the deliberate outcome of his preconceived thoughts.

Before the trial of skill Claudius places the hand of Laertes in that of Hamlet. Such an act before a friendly combat, with the accompanying declarations of the competitors, were accounted most solemn pledges of their honour and truth as gentlemen, spoken before witnesses and before God. Hamlet seizes the opportunity for expressing himself as he had expressed himself to Horatio, and thus craves forgiveness from Laertes—

> "Give me your pardon, sir: I've done you wrong;
> But pardon 't, as you are[1] a gentleman.
> This presence knows,

[1] "It, as you're" would have been more rhythmical; but Shakspere would mark Hamlet's seriousness, suavity, and courtesy by the emphasis of the unabridged phrase, and put "you are." So note, *en passant*, how the third line is a broken one, that the break in the measure may more fully mark his true court-like reverence to his king, and denote the more the humility with which he would excuse himself to Laertes.

> And you must needs have heard, how I am punish'd
> With sore distraction. What I have done,
> That might your nature, honour, and exception,
> Roughly awake, I here proclaim was madness.
> Was 't Hamlet wronged Laertes? Never, Hamlet:
> If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away,
> And, when he's not himself, does wrong Laertes,
> Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it.
> Who does it then? His madness: If 't be so,
> Hamlet is of the faction that is wrong'd;
> His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy."

The noble nature of the true Hamlet is here again brought out and contrasted with the villainous intents of his enemies. Think of the damnable schemes of Claudius and of his follower Laertes, and then hear and see Laertes say, and Claudius listen to—

> "I do receive your offer'd love like *love*,
> And will not *wrong* it."

taking with it Hamlet's answer and accompanying gesture—

> "I embrace it freely;
> And will this brother's wager frankly play."

First, then, I would call attention to this, that Hamlet has not said once that he was mad, but reiterates it, repeats the word "madness" three several times, and varies it at least thrice more in "sore distraction," and "Hamlet from himself," and Hamlet "not himself." The idea runs throughout this speech, and the sense of the whole fourteen lines may be compressed into "I was indeed most mad," spoken in all humility to his inferior, Laertes. Secondly, one of two things must follow. Either Hamlet spoke the truth, or he, the once praised rose and honour of the court, the bosom friend of Horatio, the adored of the pure Ophelia, in a matter where his honour as a man and gentleman was at stake, told a deliberate lie, and repeated it six times: not merely too were these deliberate lies, but cowardly and despicable ones. As he intended no treachery, his madness could only have been proclaimed by him, because it was true, or because he, an accomplished swordsman, would guard against the danger of having to meet Laertes with unbated rapier in, probably, a duel to the death. One of these

alternatives must be adopted,—no third is possible: though I have known some who strangely admit these to be lies, and more strangely, defend them on the ground that Hamlet thought nothing of a lie! Should any one think that up to this moment, as well as after it, that Hamlet appears as—

> "The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's, eye, tongue, sword:
> Th' expectancy and rose of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion, and the mould of form,"

but that at this particular moment he, contrary to every word and hint throughout the play, tears off this vizard and masquerading dress, and for no earthly purpose, displays himself in his true colours as the worthy nephew of his uncle, the inheritor of his mother's vices, but not of his father's virtues? I say for no earthly purpose, for his only purpose was to court Laertes' favour and play this brother's wager,—then we part company. I decline to say more, except that while I cannot expect all my conclusions to be accepted, possibly even none by those who have made up their minds, and cannot, for consistency's sake, alter them, I would yet emphatically repeat these words of Hamlet—

> "This presence knows,
> And you must needs have heard, how I am punish'd
> With a sore distraction. What I have done,
> That might your nature, honour, and exception,
> Roughly awake, I here proclaim was madness."

SCRAPS.

In the merry month of May. Though this really belongs to Barnefield, yet as it stands as No. 21 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, I would notice that the words above are found in Nash's *Quaternio*, 1633, p. 31. "Sometimes againe, in the merrie month of *May*, I betake my felfe to our Common-greene, where I behold *Tib* and *Tom*, *Iug* and *Iohn*, *Dicke* and *Doll*, *Will* and *Moll*, dauncing a meafure about the Pole." They are without signs of quotation, and though it is possible that Nash made use of words that he had just met with in the *Passionate Pilgrim* or in Barnefield, it rather seems to me that they go to prove that the phrase was a well-known one, occurring perhaps in some popular song. I quote the *Tib* and *Tom*, &c., &c. bits as showing why it was "merrie."—B. N.

rampire: v.t. rampart; pile earth against. (This may be the sense in *Timon*, V. iv. 47, 'our rampired gates': the Senators are on the walls, which, with their gates, are ramparted. Alcibiades bids them open their "uncharged[1] Ports" (l. 55), those they are to clear, and bring him into their city (l. 81). Still, Schmidt shows that 'rampired' may only have been 'barrd, fastend,' and he takes 'uncharged' to be 'unassaild'. That Shakspere didn't mean to have a rampart of Thames gravel or London clay behind the benches that probably serv'd for the Walls of Athens at the Globe or Blackfriars, is certain.) "For that the Townes enclosed with weake walles of stone, and defended with small, square, or round towres, are insufficient to abide the mallice and offence that an enemy at this day may put in practise, the Cannon being an engine of much more force then any before it inuented. To resist whose violence, other meane cannot be giuen, than to **rampier** those walles within, and make greater and royaller defences without." 1589. Paul Ive. *Treatise of Fortification*, p. 35. . . .

ib. p. 37. "If the wall be so high, that to **rampier** it to the heigth it is at, it would aske too great a labour and charge, then rebate it or take it downe lower."—F.

palisado: sb. 1 *Henry IV.* II. iii. 55. "Where the water may be drawne away, then make a strong and sufficient damme of stone, placing a **palizado** before it, (prouiding alwayes to haue some royall defence neare vnto it, that an enemy may be impeached, by all meanes possible to approch it:) which **palizado** must be of yong trees that will yeeld fiue or sixe inches of square timber, set fast in the ground, and bound togither, the one standing three inches distant from the other, that nothing may be hid behind it from the harquebusserie of the Fort; and also it were necessary that the outside of it should be flanked from the said Fort. Likewise, any courtine or bulwarke standing neere vnto anye damme, seabanke, or other such like, whereby it might be easily approched, aborded, and surprised, must haue a **palizado** (placed at the outer edge of the parapet raysed vppon the sayd courtine or bulwarke) of sparres or such like, which **palizados** may be 14. or 15. foote high, or more or lesse. 1589. Paul Ive. *The Practise of Fortification*, pp. 37, 38.—F.

it, gen. sing., earlier form of 'it's.' *Tempest*, II. i. 163. "*Marisque:* f. A great vnsauorie fig, that ripening, opens on the sides, and discovers **it** seeds." 1611. Cotgrave.

perspective, sb. *Sonnet* xxi. 4, &c. My Mistresse is my **perspectiue** glasse, through which I view the worlds vanity. 1615. Iohn Stephens. *Satyrical Essayes.* Character XVII. p. 301.—F.

[1] *Deschargé*: m. *ée:* f. Discharged, vnloaden, disburdened. Cotgrave. 1611.

XVIII.

ON "MASSINGER AND *THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN*."

BY ROBERT BOYLE, ST. PETERSBURG.

(*Taken as read at the 83rd Meeting of the Society, Friday, Dec.* 8, 1882.)

Amongst the candidates put up as Fletcher's literary partners in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, it is singular that nobody has as yet hit upon Massinger. It would seem almost natural to think of him as soon as the traditional association of the names Beaumont and Fletcher was got rid of. He is known, on undoubted authority, to have been associated with Fletcher in the authorship of several plays. In these, as well as in his own productions, he has many classical allusions, and continual touches showing that some passage of Shakspere was running in his mind. To crown all, he has a metrical style which may be regarded as the continuation and legitimate development of Shakspere's. Under these circumstances how comes it that he has been silently passed over? The reason is partly to be found in the unfair judgment passed upon him by Charles Lamb. Our poet has been degraded from his high rank by the one-sided view which Lamb took of his works, and although the justice of the verdict has been called in question, it has not ceased to exercise an unfavourable influence on the general literary verdict with regard to Massinger. People are almost afraid to venture an opinion on the Elizabethan drama differing from Lamb's. And yet there is hardly a less reliable guide to be found to our early dramatic literature. He never allows his reader to regard a drama as a whole, but extracts a small passage of exquisite beauty, or exceptional happiness of expression, and persists in making us judge of the piece by that. The hard fate that accompanied the Stage Poet through life, has clung to him up to the present time, and in spite of warm advocates like Gifford and Cunningham, prevented him from

occupying his legitimate position as a dramatist immediately after Shakspere.

The mental process of reasoning with regard to the *Two Noble Kinsmen* seems to have been this:—The play has poetical beauties of a high order, but Lamb has denied Massinger's poetical powers, therefore the latter is not to be thought of as co-author in this play.

With the exception, perhaps, of *Henry VIII.*, no play attributed to Shakspere has ever been so variously judged as the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. As examples of the two opposite poles of opinion with respect to it, nothing can be imagined more striking than the pleas for the Shakspere authorship in Hickson's paper in the *Transactions* of the N. S. S. on the one hand, and the pleas against this authorship by Prof. Delius in the German Sh. *Jahrbüch* on the other. Hickson and his supporters see only the beauty of particular passages and the general metrical similarity of the play to Shakspere's verse in his later works. Delius sees only the total want of dramatic power in the development of character, and will not even acknowledge any poetical beauty in it. The party pleading for the Shakspere authorship, judges of the play as Lamb does, from particular passages of undoubted excellence, while Delius comes to the conclusion that it is not only too bad for Shakspere, but even for Fletcher, and attributes it to an unknown author, who imitated with considerable success as far as externals go, sometimes the style of Shakspere, sometimes that of Fletcher.

It will be my aim in the following paper to show that, if we admit Massinger's authorship, all our difficulties will vanish at once. Delius' strong point—a point which he has undoubtedly proved—is the want of dramatic development of character in the drama. This of itself should be fatal to the assumption of Shakspere's authorship. Let us see how the case stands with Massinger. In the plays in which he has no literary partner, his figures have no want of rounded distinctness, although, it must be granted, that they all run on distinct lines. He characterizes his own figures best by the word "impotent," in the sense of incapable of self-restraint. This expression he uses pointedly in reference to many of his own characters. In the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, Palamon, except in I. ii., and Theseus

are good examples of this kind of treatment. But in the plays in which he wrote with Fletcher, this distinctness and individuality are seldom present in anything like the degree in which we have them in the plays of Massinger alone. The outlines are more or less blurred, and the individual traits which presented themselves to us in the opening scenes gradually become dim. Not only does Fletcher not carry on the conception of the character as laid down by Massinger (M., with a few exceptions, begins the dramas and lays down the lines), but the latter himself, on taking up his own conception later on, seems to abandon all hope of making anything of it against the dramatic incapacity of his associate. Is not this exactly what we have in the *Two Noble Kinsmen?* Are not the figures of Palamon and Arcite far more distinct and individual in the first act than they are later on? They retain indeed some of their individuality in Massinger's hands all through the play, but they do not grow upon us as similar fi ures do in the *Duke of Milan*, the *Roman Actor*, the *Great Duke of Florence*, &c.

Another point made by Delius in his paper was his argument against the Shakspere authorship, from the number of allusions to Shakspere in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. It cannot be disputed that these allusions are far more numerous in our play than in any undoubted play of Shakspere's. This is again characteristic of Massinger. There is hardly a page of his writings which does not contain more than one allusion to his master.

The metrical evidence which decided Furnivall and Fleay to adopt the Hickson theory is easily disposed of. As the question of the authorship of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* is simply a branch of the more general question,—Who were Fletcher's partners in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays?—a question to which I have devoted a good deal of attention, I may be allowed to advert to the results of my work published from time to time in the *Englische Studien*, edited by Prof. Kölbing of Breslau, and published by Henninger Brothers of Heilbronn.[1] In vol. iv. no. 1 of that periodical

[1] This periodical, which costs only fifteen shillings a year, has brought out many important papers on Shakspere questions, among the rest one by Prof. Caro, completely clearing up the difficult question whence Shakspere drew the

I wrote a paper (in German; all the rest of my work in *Eng. Stud.* is in English), in which, from metrical and other considerations, I pointed to Massinger as the probable author of the *Two Noble Kinsmen.* The metrical tables in that paper were computed by my colleague, Mr Harrison, of this town. On going over the counting later on, I found that I differed from Mr Harrison considerably in the run-on lines. What one of us regarded as a run-on line was regarded sometimes by the other as end-stopped. The difficulty being laid before the Petersburgh Shakspere Circle, a committee, consisting of Mr Goodlet, Mr Harrison, and myself, was appointed to find out a basis for counting run-on lines, and for making out a list of light and weak endings. A number of rules were laid down corresponding to the usage in French and German prosody for *enjambements.* According to these rules all my counting later on was done. The definitions given, and the list of light and weak endings, were accompanied by numerous examples taken, not from Shakspere only, but from the whole body of dramatic literature. This Report appeared in *Eng. Stud.*, III. iii. In vol. v. no. 1 of the same periodical I published about two years ago a number of tables to show the respective shares of Beaumont and Fletcher in one series of plays, and of Massinger and Fletcher in another. These tables were originally calculated to test the correctness of Fleay's tables, published in vol. i. of the *Transactions* of the N. S. S. They show the number of verse-lines in each scene, the number of run-on lines, of double endings, of light and weak endings. At the bottom of the table the number of lines attributed to each author is given, with the percentages of metrical peculiarities. These percentages show a marked regularity, and Massinger's agree with those given, in the same way, for six undoubted Massinger plays. To confirm this metrical evidence I have drawn up a list of Massinger's repetitions. "No author repeats himself oftener, or with less ceremony, than Massinger," says Gifford. As an illustration of the force of this remark, I have collected from all the plays in which Massinger was engaged (31 in

materials of his stories in the *Tempest* and *Winter's Tale.* The paper is entitled, "Ueber die historischen Elemente in Shakspere's Sturm und Wintermärchen."

all, now extant) a mass of repetitions covering 90 quarto pages of manuscript. This collection I shall shortly publish in the *Englische Studien*. In every case in which, from metrical evidence, I had fixed on a play in which Massinger's hand seemed traceable, I have found this evidence corroborated by repetitions of expressions which he was fond of.

The plays in which Massinger was engaged with Fletcher are, according to my results, the following:—

1. *The Prophetess*. 2. *The Lovers' Progress*. 3. *The Little French Lawyer*. 4. *The False One*. 5. *The Elder Brother*. 6. *Beggar's Bush*. 7. *The Spanish Curate*. 8. *A Very Woman*. 9. *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. 10. *Thierry and Theodoret*. 11. *Two Noble Kinsmen*. 12. *The Fair Maid of the Inn*. 13. *The Queen of Corinth*. 14. *The Bloody Brother*. The counting for the last three is not yet quite finished. Besides these 14 plays, in which he was engaged with Fletcher, Massinger wrote the *Virgin Martyr* with Dekker, the *Fatal Dowry* with Field, and *Love's Cure* with another author, not Fletcher. In order to judge of the question properly then, it will be seen that all the evidence brought to bear to prove the other 16 plays works of Massinger and another author, ought to be gone through before pronouncing on the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. As, however, the space available is not sufficient for this purpose, I shall only touch on the evidence that has a more immediate bearing on our play. My division of the play coincides with that of Fleay in the *Transactions* of the N. S. S., except that I give the first 18 lines of Act V. to Fletcher.[1] As to the metrical structure, it corresponds closely with Massinger's general style. The only point in which there is any difference is the double endings. These amount to only 30 per cent. in the part of the play which I give to Massinger (Furnivall and Fleay's Sh. part). Massinger's percentage of double endings generally runs about 40; in *Love's*

[1] Fleay does so too perhaps. He makes a blunder of 118 in his addition of his figures for his Shakspere part. The 100 is accounted for by his having put 100 lines too little in one scene. Perhaps he meant to give the other 18 lines to Fletcher, and—forgot. We don't quite agree in the number of verse-lines for each scene, but as I found my counting confirmed by the Littledale Reprint, I suppose it will not be far wrong.

Cure and the *Fatal Dowry* it is 35, in the *Prophetess* also 35, and in *Thierry and Theodoret* 34. Thus there is no great difficulty in supposing him to sink to 30 per cent. double endings for 1000 lines, especially as these form the most variable element of his metrical style. There is no other known author whose style so closely corresponds with the non-Fletcher part of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* 42 per cent. run-on lines; his percentage here is also his general percentage for run-on lines. The percentage for light and weak endings, together nearly eight per cent., is also his general average. In this respect his only rivals are Cyril Tourneur and Cartwright, who are both freer in their use of light and weak endings than Massinger; but neither of them can be thought of for a moment as Fletcher's partner in *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

Metrical evidence seems to be now as unduly neglected in England as it was formerly unduly cried up. Properly employed, however, as a guide and a help to the investigator, its importance is almost self-evident. That the dry figures of a metrical table represent a something very appreciable to the ear will be plain on comparing the following passages to try if the ring is the same. The passages have been chosen with an eye to similarity in situation or sentiment.

1. Compare *Unnatural Combat*, I. i. from l. 130—

> "I understand you
> Without the aid of those interpreters,
> That fall from your fair eyes," &c.,

with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. i. 175—200—

> "The more proclaiming
> Our suit shall be neglected," &c.

2. Compare the *Bondman*, I. iii., with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. ii.
3. Compare the *Picture*, II. ii., Ferdinand's speech,—

> "He, as I said, like dreadful lightning thrown," &c.
>
> ("Like young eaglets preying under
> The wings of their fierce dam,")

with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. iv. 17—Theseus' speech—

> "Like to a pair of lions smear'd with prey," &c.

4. Compare the *Picture*, II. ii., Ebulus' speech—

"I have observed
When horrid Mars, the touch of whose rude hand," &c.

with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. i. from l. 49—

"Thou mighty one that with thy power hast turned," &c.

5. Compare the *Lovers' Progress*, I. ii. 42-63—

"*Olinda.* I thus look
With equal eyes on both; either deserves
A fairer fortune than they can in reason
Hope for from me: from Lidian I expect,
When I have made him mine, all pleasures that
The sweetness of his manners, youth, and virtues,
Can give assurance of. But turning this way
To brave Clarangè, in his face appears
A kind of majesty which should command,
Not sue for favour. If the fairest lady
Of France, set forth with nature's best endowments,
Did now lay claim to either for a husband,
So vehement my affection is to both,
My envy at her happiness would kill me.

Witness these tears, I love both, as I know
You burn with equal flames, and so affect me;
Abundance makes me poor; such is the hard
Condition of my fortune. Be your own judges;
If I should favour both, 'twill taint my honour,
And that before my life I must prefer:
If one I lean to, the other is disvalued;

Would I could be so happy to content both!"

with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. iii. 41-55—

"*Emil.* Arcite is gently visagd; yet his eye
Is like an engyn bent, or a sharpe weapon
In a soft seath; mercy and manly courage
Are bedfellowes in his visage. Palamon
Has a most menacing aspect; his brow
Is grav'd, and seemes to bury what it frownes on,
Yet sometime 'tis not so, but alters to
The quallity of his thoughts; long time his eye
Will dwell upon his object; mellencholly
Becomes him nobly; so do's Arcite's mirth;
But Palamon's sadness is a kinde of mirth,
So mingled, as if mirth did make him sad,
And sadnes, merry, those darker humours that
Sticke misbecomingly on others, on [him]
Live in faire dwelling," etc.

Compare IV. ii. 1-54, etc. (Fletcher's part).

Nobody who reads these sets of passages one after another in the order given will be inclined to deny the general metrical similarity of them all. This similarity equally extends to those more prominent peculiarities, which are summed up under the name of metrical tests, and to those subtle elements which defy tabulation, but which make up the music of a verse. In these indefinable touches, in the artistic distribution of pauses, and in the unerring choice and grouping of just those words which strike the ear as the perfection of harmony, there are, if we leave Cyril Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* out of the question, only two masters in the drama—Shakspere in his latest period, and Massinger. We may regard them as equals in this respect, only that Massinger's style is more uniform, he having commenced to write after blank verse had (from 1607) attained its full harmonious development. Milton recognized the great superiority of Massinger over all his contemporaries in this respect, and not only modelled his verse on Massinger's, but by the frequency with which he takes up a thought of our poet's, and repeats it in various forms, shows that he had studied him with loving care. As between Shakspere and Massinger, the balance of metrical evidence in the non-Fletcher part of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* points to the latter from the high percentage of run-on lines and light and weak endings. The *Two Noble Kinsmen* has been shown to contain many allusions to Shakspere's plays, and many classical allusions. In *Eng. Stud.*, IV. i., I showed that Massinger was fond of classical allusions. Gifford's notes will convince any reader of Massinger that he is continually harping on some Shaksperean passage. As I said before, he always seems to have some turn of thought from some play of his great master ringing in his ear. His mind was steeped in Shakspere. There are innumerable instances of his repeating a Shakspere phrase, when led to it by similarity of situation, so literally that all idea of plagiarism is excluded. The same process went on in his mind which went on in Shelley's when, in the murder-scene in the *Cenci*, he imitated the corresponding scene in *Macbeth* so exactly that it is impossible to read it without forgetting the modern play altogether and thinking of *Macbeth*. When Massinger says in the *Emp. of the East*, V. ii.—

"Or restore
My mind to that tranquillity and peace
It then enjoyed,"

or in the same play, IV. v.—

"Methinks I find Paulinus on her lips,"

(see *Othello*, III. iii. 41, page 895, col. 2.—*Globe*)—

or III. ii— "They lose
The name of virtue,"

we see him show the same tendency to quote Shakspere with which his share of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* is replete. But, as we should expect to find from Gifford's expression as to Massinger's repetitions, his share in the *Two Noble Kinsmen* has not only classical and Shakspere allusions, it has also very clear allusions to other Massinger plays. When my list of Massinger's repetitions is published, it will show that Massinger, after Fletcher's death, repeated himself more frequently than before. Now the *Two Noble Kinsmen* was written before Fletcher's death. Not only is it a play in which the shares of the two authors are interlaced; we have even evidence that Fletcher added to what Massinger wrote. The fifth Act seemed to Fletcher to begin too abruptly, and he wrote the first 18 lines as an introduction, on much the same principle as that which induced him to begin the conversation between the two cousins in prison with a "How doe you." The *Two Noble Kinsmen* was probably written before the *Little French Lawyer* and the *Lovers' Progress*, and other plays of the French period. In the *Lovers' Progress* the idea of a woman in love with two men at once is carried out a great deal more fully than in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. The mention of Diana's "rare greene eye" (V. i. 144) would seem to show that our poet had already begun his Spanish studies. Later on a reason will be given for conjecturing its date to be about the same as that of the *Custom of the Country*. At any rate it is an early play in the Massinger and Fletcher series, although probably written after Beaumont's death. One peculiarity of Massinger and Fletcher is, that when there is any possibility of variance, they never agree in the pronunciation of a name. Thus the one pronounces Din'ant with the accent on the first syllable, the

other Dinan't with the accent on the last. In the *Spanish Curate* Massinger pronounces Bar'tolus with the accent on the first syllable; Fletcher, Barto'lus, with the accent on the middle syllable. In our play we find Fletcher pronounces Pir-ith-o-us, The-se-us, four and three syllables respectively. Massinger pronounces them Pir-ith-ous, The-seus—three and two syllables.

Let us now proceed to examine the Massinger part of the play, scene by scene, to find out allusions to his known plays. The first passage that strikes us is I. i. 64—"Juno's mantle." The only parallel passage which I find to this is in the *Elder Brother*, I. i. 108, 109 (a Massinger scene)—

> "Nor a rich gown
> From Juno's wardrobe" (From Chapman's *Homer*?).

The wheaten wreath, *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. i. 65, has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of the commentators. It is twice mentioned in the present play, not counting the stage directions,—1st as above, and 2nd, V. i. 160, as a "wheaten gerland." Considering that both Chaucer and his Italian original mention an oak wreath, the divergence is noteworthy. The "wheaten wreath" is mentioned in Peele's *Edward I.*, Act I., by Friar Hugh's man Jack. In *Hamlet*, V. ii. 41, p. 845, we have another allusion—peace wearing her wheaten garland. It seems to have been a pretty general custom for the bride to wear at the marriage ceremony a wheaten wreath, which was removed by the bridegroom. Massinger has an allusion to this custom in the *Maid of Honour*, I. ii., in the conversation between Bertoldo and Camiola—"You alone should wear the garland." The conversation is of sceptred monarchs, imaginary rivals of Bertoldo for Camiola as a bride, and the passage does not refer to a mere victor's wreath. The same allusion occurs in the *Bashful Lover*, I. i. 279—"Howe'er he wear the garland." In Act IV. sc. iii. 164 of this play there is a passage which comes near *Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. i. 158—

> "He of the two pretenders that best loves me,
> And has the truest title in 't, let him
> Take off my wheaten garland."

The passage in *Bashful Lover*, IV. iii. 164, is—

"He that can
With love and service best deserve the garland,
With your consent let him wear it."

Said to and of Matilda.

Coming on to I. i. 74, 75, we have—

"And press you forth
Our undertaker."

This expression is only once used in Shakspere in a similar sense in *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, III. iv. 349.[1] Massinger uses it in the *Renegado*, III. iii.—

"No daring undertaker in our service."

Also in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, V. i. 27—

"Were a work beyond the strongest undertakers,"

and *Lovers' Progress*, I. i. 33—

"First for the undertaker, I am he."

In I. i. 76 we have—

"Unto the helmeted Bellona use them."

Bellona occurs in two other passages of Massinger's share in this play. He seems fond of the word, which often suits his sonorous verse better than Mars. See *Roman Actor*, I. iv.[2] *Pict.*, II. ii. *Bond.*, I. i., &c.

Two Noble Kinsmen, I. i. 78—"Troubled I am."

Massinger is very fond of showing us his heroes in the uncertainty of a resolution just beginning to take shape. This he does sometimes, as in the *Picture*, III. iv., end—

"I am much troubled,
And do begin to stagger,"

in almost the very words of our play. Compare *Bond.*, V. ii. 104; *Renegado*, III. iii., end—

"My rage shall then appear; for I will do
Something; but what, I am not yet determin'd."

[1] "*Sir To.* Nay, if you be an undertaker, I am for you." "One who makes anything his own business, a meddler."—*Schmidt.*

[2] "And famine, blood, and death, Bellona's pages." (See *Henry V.* Chorus.)

Great Duke of Florence, II. iii.—

"*Phil.* His words work strangely on me,
And I would do—but I know not what to think on't."

Emp. of the East, V. i. *Guardian*, II. iii. *Bashful Lover*, II. vi. and IV. i. *Queen of Corinth*, I. i. *Thierry and Theodoret*, II. i. *Lovers' Progress*, I. i. *Spanish Curate*, IV. i., and *Bloody Brother*, I. i.

I. i. 103—"I had as leife trace this good action with you."

Compare *Virg. Martyr*, IV. iii. 95 (M.'s scene)—

"*Anton.* O, take me thither with you!
Dor. Trace my steps,
And be assured you shall."

I. i. 131—"Forward to the temple!"

Massinger uses the same, or nearly the same words in similar situations in *Maid of Honour*, V. ii.; *Picture*, I. ii.; *Fair Maid of the Inn*, V. iii. (in two places).—

"Precipitance."—I. i. 143.

Massinger uses "precipice" in the sense of a headlong fall (in this sense it does not occur in Shakspere) in *Emp. of the East*, III. ii.; *Maid of Honour*, II. iv. and V. i.; *Renegado*, III. v., and *Picture*, II. i. and IV. ii.

I. i. 153—"The heates are gone to-morrow."

This passage, hardly intelligible as it stands, is explained by a parallel passage in the *Emperor of the East*, II. i.—

"That resolution which grows cold to-day
Will freeze to-morrow."

I. i. 164— "Whilst we dispatch
This grand act of our life, this daring deed
Of fate, in wedlock."

Compare *Maid of Honour*, V. ii.—

"And rest assured that, this great work dispatched,"

The great work is the marriage of Aurelia and Bertoldo. Similar expressions (not alluding to marriage), *Un. Com.*, III. ii. 155;

D. of Mil., V. ii. 82; *Bond.*, IV. ii. 80; *City Madam*, V. iii.; *Guard.*, I. i.; *Prophetess*, II. iii.; *Q. of Corinth*, V. iv.

These last two are startling illustrations, but the next one is decisive of the question of the authorship of our play. We have—

I. i. 178—"Warranting moonlight."

"1st *Queene*. . . . when her armes,
Able to locke Jove from a synod, shall
By warranting moone-light corslet thee, O, when
Her twynning cherries shall their sweetnes fall
Upon thy tastefull lips, what wilt thou thinke
Of rotten kings or blubberd queenes? what care
For what thou feelst not, what thou feelst being able
To make Mars spurne his drom? O, if thou couch
But one night with her, every howre in 't will
Take hostage of thee for a hundred, and
Thou shalt remember nothing more then what
That banket bids thee to."

This one passage, I say, characteristic as it is of Massinger's way of treating his women (and there is nothing else anywhere in the play with regard to the female characters in contradiction with it), is enough to put an end at once to all idea of Shaksperean authorship, and to point irresistibly to Massinger as the only possible author. There are no fewer than 22 passages in plays, partly or wholly by Massinger, in which the same idea is expressed in almost the same words. It may be objected that it is the 1st Queen who expresses herself so, and the author may have meant to represent her as a sensual character. But there is no dramatic necessity to represent her as gloating over her unclean reminiscences. Without a dramatic necessity Shakspere would never have introduced such a trait, but Massinger often does. Witness the latter's *Love's Cure*, in which Eugenia expresses her joy at her husband's return, and gives the reason of that joy, I. ii. 40, 41, in a manner too plain to be mistaken—

"*Eugenia*. Oh my joys
So far transport me, that I must forget
The ornaments of matrons, modesty,
And grave behaviour! But let all forgive me,
If in th' expression of my soul's best comfort,
Though old, I do awhile forget mine age,

> And play the wanton in the entertainment
> *Of those delights I have so long despaired of.*"—
> *Love's Cure*, I. ii.

To make matters sure she repeats the allusion in I. iii. 67, 68—

> "My lord, long wish'd for, welcome!
> 'Tis a sweet briefness! Yet in that short word
> All pleasures which I may call mine begin.
> And may they long increase, before they find
> A second period! Let mine eyes now surfeit
> On this so-wish'd-for object, and my lips
> Yet modestly pay back the parting kiss
> You trusted with them.
> Sit down, and let me feed upon the story
> Of your past dangers, now you are here in safety!
> It will give relish, and fresh appetite
> To my delights, if such delights can cloy me."—
> *Love's Cure*, I. iii.

I must beg pardon for dwelling still longer on this unsavoury subject, but as it is the point on which the whole question turns, there is no avoiding it. I have conclusive reasons for ascribing *Love's Cure* to Massinger[1] quite apart from the allusion to the great frost, which proves it at least as late as 1622. Eugenia in *Love's Cure* is a perfect counterpart of the nauseous 1st Queen. But are the other female figures any better? What does Hippolyta say in lines 190—193?—

> "*Hip.* Did I not by th' abstayning of my joy,
> Which breeds a deeper longing, cure their surfeit
> That craues a present medicine, I should plucke
> All ladies' scandall on me."

Does she not express her longing for the sensual side of marriage joys as unrestrainedly as Massinger's women? I say as *Massinger's* women, because this is the mark of the cloven hoof that always betrays him. How subtle must have been the effluvia of social corruption in that age, when our poet's originally noble nature became incapable, not only of portraying, but even of conceiving ideal female purity such as we have in Shakspere's creations! In Shakspere's age the vanishing

[1] Dr Nicholson, when Fleay first presented his tables in which he had put down the play as Beaumont and Fletcher's, pointed at once to Massinger as probably Fletcher's assistant. The play is by Massinger and an unknown author (perhaps two). There is no trace of Fletcher in it.

spirit of chivalry breathed its last breath into literature, and created an ideal of woman as lofty as it is true. But the thick miasma arising from the great social swamp of corruption in which the later dramatists lived, clogged their wings and dragged them down to earth. We have a terrible example of this moral deterioration in the figures before us. How is it possible, I ask, to place such figures as Hippolyta and Emilia in the purer atmosphere of the earlier drama, when they never by any chance rise above the level of Massinger's women? Emilia as well as Hippolyta. In I. iii. 66—71 Emilia describes her personal charms—

> " . . . my breasts, O, then but beginning
> To swell about the blossome."

in a way that Iachimo does not equal when describing the mole on Imogen's breast. Fancy the same language, the same gloating over a sensual idea, being put into the mouths of the abandoned lecher and of an innocent young girl! Fancy further that the latter goes beyond the professional voluptuary in his own line, and then ask us to receive this creature into the society of Miranda, Marina, Perdita, and Imogen!

To show that I have not overstated the case with regard to Massinger's women, I subjoin the following references to scenes containing language by women meant to be virtuous, which sometimes puts even the 1st Queen into the shade. *Unnatural Combat*, I. i. 170. Bellisant in *Parliament of Love*, I. ii. and V. i. *Duke of Milan*, III. iii. and V. i. *Great Duke of Florence*, I. i. and V. iii. *Picture*, I. i. and I. ii. *Fatal Dowry*, V. ii. *City Madam*, V. i. *Guardian*, II. iii. and III. ii. *A Very Woman*, I. i. 20. *Love's Cure*, I. iii. and V. ii. *Fair Maid of the Inn*, I. i. (in two places) and V. iii. *Lovers' Progress*, I. i. *Elder Brother*, I. i. *Little French Lawyer*, V. ii. This list, which is by no means exhaustive, will convince any mind open to conviction that the women of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, if not capable of being admitted into the society of Shakspere's women, are admirably adapted to take part in the conversation of Massinger's heroines.

I. i. 216—" I stamp this kisse upon thy currant lippe;
Sweete, keep it as my token."

I need hardly say that this is not Shakspere's style. We should hardly have been surprised to find Bassanio's parting kiss to Portia mentioned. What more natural than to mention Posthumus' parting kiss to Imogen? But Shakspere does not mention it in either case. Probably because deep feelings are not expressed in such pretty conceits as the one before us. But in Massinger's time the conventional kiss of society had almost deprived a lover's kiss of the right of existence. Consequently such lines as the above occur in many of his plays.

> "This kiss when you come back shall be a virgin."
> *Bondman*, I. i. 195.

> "Deliver this kiss printed on your lips
> Sealed on his hand."
> *Maid of Honour*, III. ii., about the end.

> "The parting kiss you took before your travel
> Is yet a virgin on my lips."—*Queen of Corinth*, I. ii.

> "And my lips
> Yet modestly pay back the parting kiss
> You trusted with them, when you fled from Sevil."
> *Love's Cure*, I. iii.

The idea of the stamp making the kiss current is alluded to in the *Great Duke of Florence*, I. i.—

> "And any stamp
> Of grace to make him current to the world."

The stamp of grace does not here refer to a kiss, but to the favour in which Sanazarro stands with the Great Duke. The coincidence in the manner of expression is very striking, and points to a common author of the two plays, especially when taken in connection with the other passages, which show Massinger's inveterate habit of continually bringing forward the same expression, slightly varied, in similar situations. In I. ii. 43, 44, we have—

> "'Tis in our power—
> Unlesse we feare that apes can tutor 's—to
> Be masters of our manners."

Compare *Emp. of the East*, I. ii.—

> "You are master of the manner and the habit;
> Rather the scorn of such as would live men,

And not, like apes, with servile imitation
Study prodigious fashions."

"Servile imitation" is just the key-note to the whole of Palamon's speech, and, as usual with Massinger, the old expression recurs. Further on there is an allusion to a change of fashion which may give us a clue to the date of the play. With the means at my command in this remote corner of the world, I have not been able to clear up the point, but hope somebody else will be more fortunate.

Line 55 (I. ii.), Pal. says—

"What cannon's there
That does command my rapier from my hip
To dangle 't in my hand?"

Now we know from two contemporary plays that sword or rapier wearing became unfashionable among the gallants during the reign of James. In the *Custom of the Country*, II. iii., p. 113 (Routledge's edition), Duarte kicks Alonzo and taunts him with not daring to wear a sword to guard his honour, he is to out with his bodkin, his pocket dagger, his stiletto. Duarte will show him the difference between a Spanish rapier and his pure Pisa. Rutilio says that Duarte is bribed to repeal banished swords, and declares that, spite of the fashion, he shall never part with his. In the *Elder Brother*, V. i. 240, Miramont speaks of walking velvet cloaks that wear no sword to guard them (the scene is Massinger's); and from the rest of the play it is plain that it was fashionable, or at least common, not to wear a sword. Considering the perpetual allusions of Massinger and Fletcher to contemporary fashions and events, is it unreasonable to suppose that these hits were meant to touch a fashion recently introduced—say from 1617 to 1620?

In I. ii. 60 we have—

"These poore sleight sores
Neede not a plantin."

The present play is full of medical and surgical similes, which is again a peculiarity of Massinger's. We have III. i. 114, 115—

"This question, sicke between's
By bleeding must be cured."

and V. i. 64, 65—

"That healst with blood
The earth when it is sicke, and cur'st the world
O' the pluresie of people."

Such similes we have in *Bondman*, I. iii. 220; *Par of Love*, I. iv.; *Emp. of the East*, III. ii.; *Guardian*, III. i.; *F. Maid of Inn*, III. ii.; *Thierry & Theod.*, I. ii.; *Elder Brother*, V. i.; *Believe as you List*, V. i.; *Unnatural Combat*, IV. i. 130.[1]

I. ii. 180—"I thinke the ecchoes of his shames have deaft
The eares of heav'nly justice: widdows' cryes
Descend again into their throats, and have not
Due audience of the gods."

Compare *Roman Actor*, III. i.—

"The immortal Powers
Protect a prince, though sold to impious acts,
And seem to slumber till his roaring crimes
Awake their justice."

The two passages (complementary parts of one picture) have a common origin in *Macbeth*.

I. iii. 51—"You were at wars when she the grave enrich'd."

The same idea is repeated later on in the play, III. i. 10—

"Thou, O jewell,
O' th' wood, o' th' world has likewise blest a [place]
With thy sole presence."

Massinger repeats this idea frequently: *Elder Brother*, I. ii.; *Spanish Curate*, I. i. (in two places); *Great Duke of Florence*, I. i.—

"And what place
Does he now bless with his presence?"

Emp. of the East, II. i.; *Bashful Lover*, I. i—

"The place which she makes happy with her presence."

"To each place you made paradise with your presence."
The Bashful Lover, III. iii.

A still more striking resemblance occurs in Massinger's part of the *Fair Maid of the Inn*, V. iii.—

"But yet deny not
To let me know what place she hath made h
By having there her sepulchre."

[1] ("Thy plurisy of goodness is thy ill.")

In I. iii. 89, 90, we have—

> "I must no more beleeve thee in this point—
> . . . . . .
> Than I will trust a sickly appetite
> That loathes even as it longs."

Compare *A Very Woman*, IV. ii. 50—

> "No more of love, good father,
> It was my surfeit, and I loath it now
> As men in fevers meat they fell sick on."

It was settled by Fleay, with his usual infallibility, that neither Fletcher nor Massinger wrote prose. His reason was that there was no prose in the plays they wrote alone. Apart from the fact that this assertion is not correct, is it not possible to imagine reasons which would have induced both of them to write prose in a play with another author, while they each wrote verse in the productions in which they were unassisted? That this was the case with Fletcher in the plays he wrote with Beaumont I shall take a future opportunity to show. As to Massinger, what could induce the author of such exquisite prose as he gives us in his dedications, to avoid it in his plays, where situation rendered it natural? I think the prose at the beginning of Act II. has the Massinger ring in it, and I find two allusions connecting it with his plays—

"They stand a greife above the reach of report."—II. i. 27.

Compare *Emp. of the East*, V. ii.—

> "The majesty of your fortune
> Should fly above the reach of grief."

The last sentence of this scene (II. i.), "Lord, the difference of men," reminds us of Lidia's "O, the difference of natures," in the *Great Duke of Florence*, II. iii. The prose at the end of the fourth Act also seems to me to have the true Massinger ring in it. The number of classical allusions to Dido, to Charon, to Proserpine is quite in his style. The punishments reserved for perjured lovers in hell here mentioned, are alluded to in the *Bashful Lover*, III. iii. IV. iii. 47—

> "O, that I ever did it behind the arras!"

Compare *Renegado*, III. iv.—

> "O, here has been old jumbling
> Behind this arras!"

and *Duke of Milan*, III. ii. 42—

> "Was found at the exercise behind the arras."

The allusion to the Garden-house is common to Massinger, and all the dramatists of the time. Even Shakspere, who, at least in his later plays, is sparing of such allusions, mentions it in *Measure for Measure.*

"Confine her to a place where the light may rather seeme to steale in than be permitted."—IV. iii. 64, 65.

Compare *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, V. i. 377, on Sir Giles Overreach when distracted—

> "Carry him to some dark room."

The green songs of love mentioned IV. iii. 71, are repeated again in Palamon's invocation to Venus—"Abuse young lays of love." The whole of this scene reminds us of similar scenes in *A Very Woman.* We find another of Massinger's favourite turns of thought in Palamon's invocation to Venus, V. i. 100—

> "I never practised
> Upon man's wife, nor would the libels read
> Of liberal wits; I never at great feasts
> Sought to betray a beauty."

Compare Leosthene's to Cleora in the *Bondman*, II. i. 130—

> "Nor endeavoured
> To make your blood run high at solemn feasts
> With viands that provoke; the speeding philtres;
> I worked no bauds to tempt you; never practised
> The cunning and corrupting arts they study
> That wander in the wild maze of desire."

This last line occurs also in the *Picture*, II. ii, and *Virgin Martyr*, III. i. 135.

V. i. 150 (Emilia's invocation to Diana)—

> "I'm bride habited,
> But maiden hearted."

In the *Maid of Honour*, towards the end of V. i., Camiola says she will attire herself like a virgin bride, and appears later in this attire. If we had the stage directions, we should probably find her dressed in the way mentioned in the stage directions for Emilia.

V. i. 53— "But I
Am gultlesse of election,"

is much the same as what Olinda says in the *Lovers' Progress*, I. ii. 42, to her two lovers—

"I thus look
With equal eyes on both."

What Theseus says at the close of the play—

"A day or two
Let us look sadly, and give grace unto
The funerall of Arcite: in whose end
The visages of bridegroomes weele put on
And smile with Palamon; for whom an houre,
But one houre since, I was as dearely sorry,
As glad of Arcite, and am now as glad
As for him sorry,"

is simply a very diffuse version of what the king says at the end of *Lovers' Progress*—

"To the dead, we tender
Our sorrow; to the living, ample wishes
Of future happiness."

Let us review the results of the foregoing investigation. Fletcher's co-author was one whose verse closely resembled Shakspere's; he constantly had some Shaksperean turn of thought in his mind; he had infinitely more dramatic power than Fletcher, but felt himself unable to make proper use of it from his associate's dramatic incapacity; he had a very low ideal of female nature, if it can be called an ideal at all; finally, besides his classical and Shakspere allusions, he has a large number of passages found in many of Massinger's plays, of whom it has been well said that no author repeats himself oftener or with less ceremony. Now we know that Massinger has all these characteristics. The last point, the passages in *T. N. K.* repeated in later Massinger plays, is not to be explained but on the supposition that Massinger is Fletcher's assistant in *T. N. K.* Even if we could imagine Shakspere to have borrowed to such an extent

from another author, he had almost ceased writing for the stage ere Massinger commenced. Massinger's love to Shakspere and imitation, not only of his style, but even of his expressions and situations, explain completely and satisfactorily the Shakspere look of parts of our drama. But it is simply the *look*. The resemblance is only in the outer form. The power which gives the empty words form and being is utterly wanting, and we have a descriptive poem instead of a drama. I do not care to waste space on an examination of the assertions and arguments of Spalding, Hickson, Swinburne, &c., which are grounded mainly on single happy epithets and phrases, irrespective of the general character of the drama and its personages. I rest my case on the play itself, and now go on to consider the development of character as seen in the *T. N. K.* I have already said that Massinger's characters all run on certain lines. He has but few types, but in his own walk he is undoubtedly only inferior to Shakspere. Of his highest type of character we have a good example in Pisander, in the *Bondman*. With such figures he often rises to a beauty and serenity of thought that, aided by the exquisite music of his versification, produces an effect little short of solemnity. Pisander, speaking of slavery, says—

> " *The noble horse,*
> *That, in his fiery youth, from his wide nostrils*
> *Neigh'd courage to his rider, and brake through*
> *Groves of opposed pikes, bearing his lord*
> *Safe to triumphant victory ;* old or wounded,
> Was set at liberty, and freed from service.
> The Athenian mules, that from the quarry drew
> Marble, hew'd for the temples of the gods,
> The great work ended, were dismissed and fed
> At the public cost ; nay, faithful dogs have found
> Their sepulchres ; but man, to man more cruel,
> Appoints no end to the sufferings of his slave."

The perfection of art in these magnificent lines is what we are accustomed to regard and call Shaksperean. To the stormy impetuosity of the opening movement, giving all the excitement and hurry of the onset, succeeds a hush which almost awes by the contrast. The pictures spring up before our eyes and carry us away with them with irresistible power. If these lines had stood in the

T. N. K. they would have been hailed as proof positive of the hand of Shakspere. To any ear at all conversant with Massinger's ring, they are characteristic of him, but hardly more so than Arcite's invocation to Mars in our play.

But Massinger often breaks down, as he has done in the *T. N. K.*, in his delineation of his highest types. One of his most remarkable failures, showing a strange mixture of power and short-coming, is his figure of Hortensio in the *Bashful Lover*. He is far more successful with his despots and his jealous characters. These abandon themselves entirely to their feelings in a way which the poet designates as impotence. He shows us unsparingly the weaknesses which are inseparable from violence of character, and dwells especially on the uneasiness and trouble preceding the formation of a disagreeable resolution. These characters are being continually prayed to by their surroundings, till their violence changes to a yieldingness almost comic in its feebleness. Theseus is a type of the despotic class, and expresses himself exactly like one of Massinger's despots. Compare him with Lorenzo in the *Bashful Lover*, and Cosime in the *Great Duke of Florence*. The kneeling scene in the latter play closely resembles that in the *T. N. K.*

If Massinger had written the whole play, Palamon would probably have belonged to his highest type. This height, however, he only reaches in the scene in Thebes, in his conversation with his cousin. Had Palamon been sustained at this height, our play might have taken rank with some of the best of those which had Massinger as sole author. But, from the above mentioned scene on, there is a positive falling off in Palamon, and, in his invocation to Venus, he shows a mixture of beautiful, appropriate language, with passages in execrably bad taste. This mixture of beauty and bad taste is almost equally remarkable in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, III. i., where Allworth describes his mistress.

Of Arcite in the present play, we can only say that he only once rises above the level of Palamon at his worst. All three figures are just of the kind we meet with in many Massinger plays.

This is still plainer in the case of the female figures. All three (to leave the three Queens out of the question) have the special sensual

type that characterizes Massinger's women. Hippolyta has a certain resemblance to Eudocia in the *Emperor of the East*, and Emilia belongs to the same class, with Theocrine in the *Unnatural Combat*, and Leonora in *A Very Woman*, and to those other young women who express their longing for marriage joys in so unreserved a manner. No attempt to rescue Emilia, by saying that she loved neither of the cousins, will succeed. Of course she did not. A woman who, in the moment of the combat, could only think of one of her lovers being wounded "to the spoiling of his figure," could have no idea what love was. But the poet meant to represent her as in love with both cousins. This is plain from the *Lovers' Progress*, the companion piece to our play. The parts of this play by Massinger are, I. i. and I. ii. (first 109 lines), II. ii., III. iv., III. vi. (last 28 lines), IV. i., ii., iii., iv., V. i., ii., iii. The metrical investigation gave for this part 44 per cent. double endings, 40 run-on lines, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. light and weak endings. The rest of the play exhibits 60 per cent. double endings, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. run-on lines, and not even 1 per cent. light and weak endings. This result of the metrical tests is confirmed by the number of repetitions of Massinger expressions we find in the part attributed to him, and also by the characters of Calista and Olinda. The former, the wife of Cleander, regrets that she should be prevented by her unfortunate lot as a human being from enjoying the freedom of animal life. This unfortunate lot prevents her from treating her lover Lisander as freely as her husband, and forces her to repel him harshly. Olinda is in love with two at a time.

> "I thus look
> With equal eyes on both; either deserves
> A fairer fortune than they can in reason
> Hope for from me: From Lidian I expect,
> When I have made him mine, all pleasures that
> The sweetness of his manners, youth, and virtues
> Can give assurance of; but turning this way
> To brave Clarangé, in his face appears
> A kind of majesty which should command
> Not sue for favour. If the fairest lady
> Of France, set off with Nature's best endowments,
> Nay, should I add, a princess of the blood,
> Did now lay claim to either for a husband,

So vehement my affection is to both,
My envy at her happiness would kill me."

Well may Cleander say of this love, it is the strangest he ever heard of!

To my mind the *Lovers' Progress* treats more at large the theme touched on in the *T. N. K.*

From the quotations it will be remarked, that our play and the *Lovers' Progress* end with the same reflection, only more pithily expressed in the latter. In both plays the lovers were inseparable friends, in both they quarrel and fight for their mistress, and in both one of them gives up his claim in favour of the other—Arcite on his death-bed, and Clarangé on becoming a monk. Could more similarity in character, situation, and expression be found in any two dramas which yet retain their individuality?

If the love to two at a time reminds us of the *Lovers' Progress*, the treatment of madness, and especially the figure of the doctor, reminds us still more of *A Very Woman*. Massinger seems to have had a fondness for the medical profession. He uses medical and surgical similes freely. In the *Emperor of the East* a surgeon is introduced so as to convey the idea that Massinger meant to go out of the way to pay a compliment to the profession. In *A Very Woman* this is carried out to an extent unprecedented in any drama of the time. In the *T. N. K.* also the doctor makes a very favourable impression. From the violent character of Massinger's favourite types, he often has to show a state of mind little removed from madness. Sir Giles Overreach, in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, actually becomes mad. But in *A Very Woman* Massinger has given a thorough description of his views on this subject. Almira and Cardenes love each other with a violence which promises a short duration. Cardenes, in the most brutal manner, insults his unsuccessful rival, and is left severely wounded after a short combat. Almira passes from a state of frantic rage to one of light-headedness, in which she pours forth scraps and shreds of classical mythology, in exactly the same way as the Jailor's daughter. Cardenes falls into a state of which Paulo says—

"Melancholy,
And at the height, too near akin to madness
Possesses him; his senses are distracted,
Not one, but all; and, if I can collect them
With all the various ways invention
Or industry e'er practised, I shall write it
My master-piece."

Exactly what our Doctor says of the Jailor's daughter—

"'Tis not an engraffed madnesse, but a most thicke and profound mellencholly."

In *A Very Woman*, IV. ii., Paulo mentions the illusions to which Cardenes is subject, and his method of cure—

"His inhumanity to Don Antonio
Hath rent his mind into so many pieces
Of various imaginations, that,
Like the celestial bow, this colour's now
The object, then another, till all vanish.
He says a man might watch to death, or fast,
Or think his spirit out; to all which humours
I do apply myself, checking the bad,
And cherishing the good."

Paulo mentions his appliances, and shows us in the course of the scene how he works. Cardenes falls into a melancholy reflection and wishes for death. Paulo appears in the disguise of a friar, and relates how he has committed a worse crime than Cardenes, and yet by repentance been cleansed. The patient next, from thinking of the foul insult wantonly inflicted on the Prince of Tarent, resolves to kill himself as some satisfaction to his foe's wounded honour. Paulo, disguised as a soldier, enters with an English slave in the figure of a courtier. The latter gives the rules for conventional courtship, so that Cardenes feels for the first time that it was no real love he felt for Almira. Paulo gives his definition of honour ("who fights with passions and o'ercomes them," &c.), and he begins to see that his idea of honour is as shadowy as his idea of love.

This is what our Doctor in the play lays down for the cure of the Jailor's daughter. "It is a falsehood she is in," says he, "which is with falsehoods to be combated." Paulo speaks of his possible success in the cure of Cardenes as a masterpiece. Our Doctor

speaks much in the same way of his experiences in such cases, IV. iii. 84 to end.

The three figures, Almira, Cardenes, and the Jailor's Daughter, represent stages in a mental disease which has not reached the height of madness. There is not the slightest idea of a rivalship with Shakspere in Ophelia or Lear. There is no imitation (I speak only of the Massinger part), but simply a consistent and uniform treatment of one and the same disease in the two plays. They agree so well, alike in what is common to both as in the little touches left out in the one and supplied in the other, that it is difficult not to regard them as complementary sketches by the same hand.

To the defenders of the Shakspere authorship, I should recommend a comparison between the Theseus of our play and of *Midsummer Night's Dream.* It is true that Shakspere's character of Julius Cæsar in his play of that name is very different from the isolated hints of his character as "the mightiest Julius," &c., in the other plays; it is also true that the picture of the Trojans and Greeks at the siege of Troy in *Lucrece* varies widely from that in *Troilus and Cressida.* But look at Theseus in *M. N. D.* He has nothing of the despot in him, but simply declares what the law is, and that he cannot alter it. We should look in vain among Massinger's rules for such a simple, matter-of-fact declaration. Then, again, with what firm gentleness he checks Hippolyta's impatience of the rude Athenian mechanics. He is a pattern of a firm, constitutional ruler, such as Elizabeth with all her faults appeared to her people. The Theseus of our play is Chaucer's, quite the opposite of all this. He knows no law but his own will. He is the pattern of a despot such as the Stuarts wished to appear to their people. His Hippolyta commences by kneeling to him, but will end by storming at him. He is on the high way to become a hen-pecked husband, and richly he deserves it! Look at these two so opposite conceptions of the same figure, and, remembering the unity running through all Shakspere's characters, say, is it possible that Shakspere should have given two such totally contrary pictures of the same Theseus?

To conclude, Massinger was fond of political and other allusions to contemporary events. These allusions Shakspere seems to have

left off entirely after the beginning of the century. Our play, Act I. sc. ii., has such a running commentary on contemporary circumstances and events as we find in many Massinger plays. It begins with a tirade against the corruptions of the city, and goes on to speak of the neglected soldier. This last allusion in Massinger's mouth has a particular meaning. There was probably some effort being made about the time when our play was written to induce James to embark in a war—perhaps in favour of his son-in-law. Leaving this subject, Palamon approaches one scarcely less frequently treated by Massinger —the extravagances of fashion. A mincing gait, affectation in speech, display in dress are ridiculed; and finally comes what looks like a much more particular and personal allusion than any of the above— the wearing of the beard in the same style as the favourite's. After all this, the change of fashion in sword-wearing is mentioned, and acquires in this connection increased importance.

Professor Gardiner's paper, in the *Transactions* of the N. S. S., shows to what an extent Massinger made political and other allusions in his plays. The neglect of the soldier and the corruptions of the city are themes he is never tired of glancing at. Prof. Gardiner's paper showed how far Massinger went in these allusions in three of his plays, and opened up a vista showing us the poet in a much clearer light. I have no doubt that if Prof. Gardiner had devoted some time to the investigation of I. ii. of our play, from this point of view, he would soon have been able to give some of these vague allusions a local habitation and a name.

In recommending this solution of the *T. N. K.* question to the attention of Shakspere scholars in England, I beg to remark that the evidence in an investigation of this kind appears much stronger in its natural connection, as part of a whole. Those who wish to see all that can be said in favour of my views will have to consult the above-mentioned numbers of the *Englische Studien*. The space at my disposal, and the immense accumulation of materials, have prevented me from giving all the quotations at full in the text. I believe, however, that I have advanced enough to induce all who have any interest in the question to look up the parallel passages cited, and compare them with the language of the play. They will

not regret the labour, if they come to the conclusion that the Massinger authorship would settle the question. It is painful to a sincere admirer of Shakspere to have to invent all sorts of apologies for what, if genuine, must be one of his latest works. But what ground have we for a view, lately advanced, in which we have a post-Tempest period with a marked falling off? The discovery of Fletcher's co-authorship, accounting for the weaknesses in *Henry VIII.*, Mr. Bullen's and my own work at Day and Wilkens, finally clearing up all remaining doubts as to the Wilkens' authorship of *Pericles*, I., II., and the adjudication of the co-authorship in *T. N. K.* to Massinger, would give us a full view of Shakspere, from the close of the great tragedies, on the pinnacle on which we see him in the *Tempest*, shining to the last in a steady, mild, unchanging glory. Surely it is better to accept this view, and to sweep away the mists which have prevented us from seeing him at his full evening splendour, than to ascribe the specks in our own dim eyes to the glorious sun on which we are gazing.

SCRAPS.

A sea of troubles: Hamlet, III. i.

> "Wherein the Ocean seas of troubles flow."
> Th. Rogers, *Celestiall Elegies*. 1598. Quat. 12.

This work is photographed in *The Lamport Garland*, Roxburghe Club, 1881, and the passage is pointed out in Mr C. Edmond's editorial "Introduction." It fixes the folio reading as against conjectural change, and tends to show—as does "This great sea of joys," *Pericles*, V. i.—that this or similar phrases were then current. The historic story on which this *Hamlet* passage seems to have been founded—that of the Kelts actually arming, and fighting the on-coming sea—tends also to confirm the reading, if it does not of itself prove it.—B. N.

I write man, claim a title to, call myself, man: *All's Well*, II. iii. 208; 2 *Hen. IV.* I. ii. 30. "My Mistresse [Guzman's mistress] vvas much ashamed of this foule accident, and I more: for albeit I did **write man**, yet I was but a young Lad to speake of [*y yo mas, que aunque varon, era muchacho*], and a meere child in the knowledge of these things," &c.—Mabbe's trans. of *Guzman de Alfarache*, 1623, Pt. I. p. 146.—W. G. Stone.

his tongue filed: L. L. L. V. 1, &c. Such phrasing was then not unfrequent—

> But they theyr tonges **fyle**
> And make a plesaunt style.
> Skelton. *Colyn Cloute*, Dyce's reprint, vol. i. p. 344.

> And well could **file his tongue** as smooth as glas
> Spenser's *F. Queene*, B. 1, c. 1, st. 35.

> His **filed** phrase diserns . .
> R. Portington, before Greene's *Mamillia*, 1583, as above, p. 12.

She is a woman: therefore to be wonne: 1 *Henry VI.* V. iii. See *New Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874, pp. 126, 127. Cp. with *Tit. And.*, II. i. 83, 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 79 (80 misplaced), and *Rich. III.*, I. ii. 229, this passage. "He [Cupid] therefore began to incourage his champion [Rodento] with theſe plauſible coniectures: that although there had beene a perpetual diſſention betweene their two houſes, yet there might grow as great friendſhip in their heartes, that the enmitie of the parentes could not hinder the amitie of the children, that *Pafylla* was *a woman, and therefore to be wonne:*" &c.—Robert Greene's *Planetomachia*, 1585 (Huth Library, vol. v. p. 56).—W. G. Stone.

Court holy water, a. flattering: the sb. is in *Lear*, III. ii. 10, meaning 'flattery.' "But with vs, our Parasites, our Panders, our Fauourets, our Fidelers, our Fooles, our instruments of ambition, our ministers of our wanton pleasures, shall be rewarded, but wee neuer cherish wisedome, till wee haue cause to vse her counsell, and then (perhaps) shee may bee rewarded with some **Court holy water wordes**, and which wee will bestowe, but for our owne aduantage, & when our turne is serued, our kindnes is estranged." 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age*, p. 37.—F. *Eau beniste de Cour*—Court holy-water; Complements, faire words, flattering speeches, glosing, soothing, palpable cogging. Cotgrave.—B. N.

fig, v. t. poison: *Hen. V.* III. vi. 62. (See Steevens's note in the *Variorum Sh.*, 1821, xvii. 364, 365.) "Let Master Blackwell answer for himself, *ætatem habet*, perhaps it is better for them to stay in prison, then to be dismissed, least they should be made away by Jesuites, as the Bishop of Cassano, Cardinal Allen, Tollet, yea, Pope Sixtus Quintus himself, all **figged** in a trice, for crossing, or at least for not serving, the Jesuites' humours." 1609. William Barlow. *Answer to a Nameless Catholic's Censure*, &c.—W. G. S.

wagging of a straw. Rich. III. III. v. *Angry at the wagging of a straw.* Nè move festucam. A lasso rixu quæritur. 1639.—Jn. Clarke. *Parœmiologia Anglo-latina*, p. 34.—F.

XIX.

"O POOR OPHELIA!"

HAMLET, ACT IV, SCENE II. ACTING EDITION.

By MISS GRACE LATHAM.

(*Read at the 94th Meeting of the Society, Friday, February* 8, 1884.)

In studying our dramatic authors we at once see one capital difference between Shakspere's and their work. Most of them create either types of a class, or else shadows, born when the curtain rises, to die at its fall, while their lesser characters seem like puppets, put away in a box till they are again wanted, so strong a likeness do the valets and waiting-maids of a group of dramatic writers bear to each other. Only Shakspere so individualizes his characters that we feel assured that they once really existed, and lived the whole of those lives, part of which is shown to us on the stage. His people have so great an individuality that we can only compare them to those fine Dutch portraits, in which the artist has so fixed one passing moment of the life of a man, that we realize his character, temperament, nay, the very strength and weakness of his moral nature, as we, with our lesser perceptive faculties, might never have done had we known him in his lifetime.

Now this it is which makes the representation of Shakspere's characters at once so easy and so difficult. It is comparatively easy, because, while in other plays the actor must himself add all those little touches which make the individual human being, in Shakspere all is done for him; it is most difficult, because his indications of character are so many, that he must indeed be an earnest and thoughtful student of the human soul who can rightly comprehend and use them.

To form at all a fair conception of a Shaksperian character, we must first study it in connection with its fellow *dramatis personæ*, and, making due allowance for the circumstances, prejudices, and temperaments of each of these, note the influence they have, and the impression they make on each other. Then, turning to the character itself, we must sink as far as possible our own individuality in it, make its joys and sorrows our own, see with its eyes, and (to use a French theatrical expression) so get into its skin, that we can see from within all the various impulses which govern it; and then, by comparing our two studies, we shall have some idea of the creature with whom we have to deal.

Ophelia, who is the subject of this paper, it is certainly necessary to study in this fashion, for she may be compared to a delicate pastel drawing in which much is indicated, though little is fully worked out. She is, perhaps, one of the least interesting of Shakspere's women, and is drawn, as are indeed most of his female characters, from his keen observation of the effect of certain events and surroundings on his subject, rather than from an absolute knowledge of it; and she therefore lacks the wonderful dissection of the innermost workings of the soul, which we find in so many of his male characters.

Dramatically considered, her part is short and simple, and is one of those in which the sympathy of the audience is gained by means of the circumstances in which the poet has placed her, and by her pathetic fate, rather than by any interest that she herself excites in us through her actions or character. And it is the sad end to her affection for Hamlet, the death of her father, and her consequent madness, that will always make Ophelia one of the most interesting and touching of Shakspere's *parts* for women, notwithstanding the uninteresting nature of the girl herself.

Her age is nowhere stated, but she has all the timidity and indecision of manner of a very young girl; and Laertes, who would know how old she was, and certainly would not flatter her, says of and to her:

> "The canker galls the infants of the spring,
> Too oft before their buttons be disclosed;

And in the morn and liquid dew of youth
Contagious blastments are most imminent."
Act I. sc. iii.

Her mother must have been a woman of infinite purity and goodness, for Laertes in his one reference to her speaks only of this; but she was probably long dead, for nowhere else is she alluded to, unless indeed she were the person for whom Polonius suffered much extremity in his youth; and Laertes, who was apparently the elder child, may have remembered her more clearly than did her daughter.

The person, therefore, who did most to form Ophelia's character was her father, the crafty Polonius. Educated at the University, and now drawing to the close of a long life passed at Court, his mind is full of the subtleties peculiar to the politics and learning of Elizabeth's century. Though he lacks the wisdom and breadth of mind which make the society of some men an education in itself, he is full of the meaner kinds of worldly astuteness and experience, which pull a man pleasantly and successfully through life. He was probably of noble birth, for the Queen contemplates Hamlet's marriage to Ophelia with a satisfaction which she would hardly have felt had Polonius's immediate ancestors been either peasants or burghers. He had long been the favoured adviser of the Crown, for he speaks to King and Queen with the garrulous familiarity of an old and tried servant, and alluding to his long service, says:

"And I do think, for else this brain of mine
Hunts not the train of policy so sure
As it hath used to do!"

and

"Hath there been such a time, (I'd fain know that,)
That I have positively said, *'T is so*
When it prov'd otherwise?"—Act II. sc. ii.

Moreover, he has been instrumental in raising Claudius to the throne, or at least is sufficiently powerful to hurl him thence, and is on that account in high favour at Court; for notice the tone of the usurper's speech to Laertes. It is fulsome in its graciousness:

"And now, Laertes, what 's the news with you?
You told us of some suit? What is 't, Laertes?
You cannot speak of reason to the Dane,
And lose your voice: What would'st thou beg, Laertes,

> That shall not be my offer, not thy asking?
> The head is not more native to the heart,
> The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
> Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father."—Act I. sc. ii.

This may possibly account for Hamlet's rooted dislike to the old man; and to Polonius's worldly commonplace nature the intellectual, metaphysical Prince would be quite incomprehensible, while the unpractical, desultory side of his character the old statesman would at once see and condemn; and may, with some reason, have thought that a firmer, steadier hand was needed to hold the reins of power in Denmark.

It has been suggested that Ophelia was put out to nurse, and passed her childhood in a farm-house; but not only is there no line in *Hamlet* to warrant our adoption of such a theory, but the girl herself lacks the healthy practical tone of mind, the self-reliance in little things, which a rough open-air rearing would have given her. It is more probable that she grew up under Polonius's own eye, and that with the same want of perception of character which distinguishes him in his dealings with Hamlet, while he pushed forward his independent son, he kept his gentle, timid daughter under stern control at home. We must certainly remember that in Shakspere's day children were kept in far greater subjection to their parents than now; Lady Jane Grey suffered "nips and bobs and pinches" at the hands of hers; and we find Portia, a woman of very different mould to poor Ophelia, strictly carrying out her father's will in the matter of the caskets. Still in Ophelia's silence in her father's presence, in her short unwilling answers to his questions, we may learn that his rule was one of no ordinary repression or severity. When he speaks to her about the Prince, his tone is harsh, untender, and does not invite her confidence, and even in speaking of her to the King and Queen there is something hard and unloving in his words;

> "I have a daughter; have, while she is mine;
> Who in her duty and obedience, mark,
> Hath given me this."—Act II. sc. ii.

As he set spies upon his son, he probably did so upon his daughter also, and he may have been alluding to them when he mentions those who "Put on him" the story of Hamlet's love in way of

caution. Ophelia would thus grow up with the knowledge that she was not trusted, and the sense that she was being watched. The precepts and rules of conduct given to her would be of the same nature as those given to Laertes; and, as if we were intended to infer this, both Polonius's parting advice to his son, and his interview with Reynaldo, are pointedly brought into connection with scenes of Ophelia's; especially the former, where his chief theme is the urgent necessity of caution in going through life, in action, speech, expenditure, and intercourse with other men; and we may remark that such teaching was far more likely to be acted on by Ophelia, whose moral courage was not great, and whose bringing up had been repressive, than by the stronger, rougher nature of Laertes. For while such a rearing would have roused an energetic courageous girl to a more or less decided opposition, it would cause a nervous, timid one, like Ophelia, to become most reserved, to live as much as possible alone, and, while outwardly most obedient and submissive, carefully to conceal all the hopes and fears, thoughts and feelings that made up her girl's life. It is a significant fact that Hamlet does not find her with her father, as Othello did Desdemona, or with a dear friend, as Orlando did Rosalind, but solitary, sewing in her chamber, and Polonius does not seem in the least surprised that it should have been so. The society in which she moved was of a stamp which would increase her disposition to caution and reserve. We are expressly given to understand that the times were evil, unscrupulous, dissolute, rotten. The Court itself, from which the friends of the powerful family of Polonius must have been drawn, was composed of unprincipled, artificial, licentious men and women; during the whole course of the tragedy we do not meet with one Dane who has any nobility of character, excepting Horatio, who can hardly be called a courtier, and poor Hamlet himself. Such were the people whom Ophelia met at her father's house during her childhood, and at the Court, whither she was taken as soon as she grew up; we must infer that she held no place in it, though she belonged to it sufficiently for Hamlet to have become intimate with her, and to visit her at her father's house, as both Scene iii. Act I. and Scene i. Act II. take place there.

Now, in young girls who have mixed all their lives in a society of mere acquaintances, we notice a remarkable difference from those whose lives have been passed in their families and among familiar friends. There is a reserve, a distrust in those they meet, a pleasantness without friendliness, which the others do not attain, if indeed they ever do so, until they are advanced in life. They have gained an experience, while too young to profit by it, which checks any spontaneity either in their conversation with others, or in their own feelings. When to this is added the conventionalities and refinements of high breeding, the gracious courtesy, which, while making all things pleasant, is often a mask, concealing the real nature of the possessor, and so much a part of herself that she is rarely able to drop it, then we have the great lady. Love steals upon the young daughter of a quiet literary or country home, occupied with her girlish lessons, her work, and her play, and before she is aware her heart is gone; and she will tell you, if you can make her speak to you on such a subject: "I could not help loving him." But a girl, who from her childhood has lived in the world, who has had scandals discussed in her presence while she still played with her doll, has seen all its petty artifices when too young to take part in them, will have nothing unconscious in her love; and although her nature may be pure and beautiful, she will so dread deception and the pain of unrequited affection, which she knows from hearsay and observation, that she will not give way to the impulses of her heart. Such a girl is Ophelia, and to do her justice we must keep these facts constantly before our minds.

Laertes is just what we should have expected the son and pupil of Polonius to be. Brave, ready in speech and action, practical in the ordinary affairs of life, full of showy accomplishments and virtues, early worldly-wise, and unscrupulous when it suits his purpose to be so, but with a tender, loyal affection of which there is no trace in the old courtier, and to which his fair sister alone has the key. We first see Ophelia—and all Shaksperian students know well how important to the right understanding of a character the first allusions to it and its first appearance are—taking leave of this dear brother on his going to France. He begs her to write to him, and she replies

as though such correspondence, a more weighty matter then than now, were a thing of course during his absences. Then their talk branches off to the Lord Hamlet, who is pursuing Ophelia with his affection, and has evidently found means to see her at home and alone. Laertes plunges at once into the subject without preamble—"Of Hamlet and the trifling of his favour." This is not the first time brother and sister have discussed it, and it reads as though she had asked Laertes what he thought were the Lord Hamlet's intentions, and that this were the answer, for he goes on:

> "Hold it a fashion, and a toy in blood;
> A violet in the youth of primy nature,
> Forward, not permanent, sweet, not lasting,
> The perfume and suppliance of a minute;
> No more."

To which she replies, thoughtfully, as if weighing what he had said: "No more but so."

It is observable that the Second Quarto and Folio do not give the sign of interrogation after this speech, which is in our acting editions, and Laertes answers her thoughts: "*Think* it no more;" and continues with some very sensible, but very tenderly-expressed counsel: "He is too far above you to become your husband, and must make a political marriage;" and he begs her most earnestly to commit no imprudence, but carefully to guard her heart. Evidently he had no idea that it had already gone out of Ophelia's keeping; and we see that, like many reserved natures, her confidence, if given, was not entire. But even he warns her most strongly to beware of the fatal consequences of listening to the Prince's songs "with a too credent ear," lest she should lose her honour. It is very lovingly and delicately put, but we see that, notwithstanding Ophelia's youth, Laertes did not consider her as an unknowing, innocent child, but as the Court lady, exposed to the dangers of calumny and seduction. Neither is her answer that of an unconscious girl; she is neither shocked nor angered, so that these ideas were no new ones to her, but she listens silently and attentively, and answers frankly and gratefully: "I shall the effect of this good lesson keep as watchman to my heart;" and then goes on to appeal very affectionately to her

beloved Mentor to keep straight himself. But taking advice is far less amusing than giving it. Laertes puts aside the half-hinted rebuke, and would escape, but Polonius traps him, and he must listen to the worldly advice to which we have already alluded; his sister stands quietly by, hearing all and saying nothing, as is her habit; and then after his farewell to their father, still dreading the outcome of Hamlet's courtship, he turns to her with a final warning, "Farewell, Ophelia, and remember well what I have said to you;" and she assures him earnestly, "'T is in my memory locked, and you yourself shall keep the key of it." This is apparently meant to be spoken in an aside, but Polonius demands an explanation. She answers unwillingly, timidly, and as vaguely as possible: "So please you, something touching the Lord Hamlet." Unlike his son, Polonius does not deal either delicately or gently with his daughter; there is no wrapping up of unpleasant truths in pretty images; he too sees clearly the impossibility of a marriage with the heir to the throne; the warnings he has received have irritated him, and he goes straight to the point.

> "'Tis told me, he hath very oft of late
> Given private time to you: and you yourself
> Have of your audience been most free and bounteous;
> If it be so, (as so 't is put on me,
> And that in way of caution,) I must tell you,
> You do not understand yourself so clearly,
> As it behoves my daughter, and your honour:
> What is between you? give me up the truth."

Ophelia's answers are remarkable in their hesitation and uncertainty.

> "He hath, my lord, of late, made many tenders
> Of his affection towards me."

Notice that there is a little pause made after "tenders" by the unstopt end of the line, a kind of dwelling on the word by the extra syllable "ers", as though she did not quite know how to frame her sentence; and in her answer to his question,

> "Do you believe his tenders, as you call them?"

she is only speaking as she feels, in saying,

> "I do not know, my lord, what I should think."

Let us also remark the effect of uncertainty and doubt given by the position of the words, "my lord," in the middle of the sentences, with their necessary commas. She is terribly afraid of old Polonius. She calls him "my lord" in every one of her speeches, except the first, and that she begins with "so please you;" but she is really puzzled, and doubtful what to believe. Unlike the passionate Juliet, who gives her heart at once without a thought, Ophelia would not lose hers until she knew she would receive Hamlet's in exchange; and she is too uncertain of this to say more than that the Prince has made "tenders" of his affection towards her, and what these really mean she does not know. Juliet has only *heard* of lovers' perjuries; Ophelia is of the world, and has seen enough of them to make her very cautious. She would gladly receive help and advice, but evidently does not expect it from old Polonius. He is too wrapt up in his own conceits to perceive anything, but that his daughter has nearly compromised herself, and the need of giving her such a rebuke as will prevent the recurrence of the danger. He heaps scoffs and insults on his child for having entertained the faintest idea that Hamlet may be in earnest. Then, in defence of her woman's honour, the timid girl fires up, and we learn that the Prince's courtship had indeed gone far:

> "My lord, he hath importun'd me with love,
> In honourable fashion."

And heedless of her father's scornful interruption, she continues:

> "And hath given countenance to his speech, my lord, with almost all the holy vows of heaven."

Notice how the "my lords" no longer break the sentences, but act like interjections, giving them weight. However, Polonius, in a graver, more earnest manner than before, firmly puts aside all idea of Hamlet's truth, forbidding her to see or speak to him; and she replies sadly, "I shall obey, my lord." For though this decree crushes all her hopes, she has been broken into the habit of implicit obedience too long, and relies too entirely on her father's judgment, to dream of disobeying him.

And the old courtier is in the right, and only acts with common sense. Neither he nor Laertes believed in Hamlet's stability of

disposition; it was not likely that they should have done so, for the active nature is always at war with the contemplative, though Laertes has evidently known of Hamlet's honourable importunities, for he says:

> "Perhaps, he loves you now;
> And now no soil nor cautel, doth besmirch
> The virtue of his will."

But he has no expectation that he will "give his saying deed," and Polonius, with his long experience in evil, thought, as he says in another scene,

> "I feared he did but trifle, and meant to wreck thee."
> Act II. sc. i.

And in putting a stop to all communication between him and Ophelia, he acts very much as we ourselves should do in similar circumstances. Certainly Polonius's words are harsh and coarse in the extreme; but while Laertes patronizes Ophelia, Polonius has a certain contempt for her very purity and innocence of soul, which to him only constitutes a danger the more. It will, perhaps, assist us to comprehend Ophelia's character, if we compare her with two other of Shakspere's women, who have been considered so like her, that Mrs Jameson, in her *Characteristics of Women*, has grouped them together; we mean Perdita and Miranda. The first of these is indeed so like her, in what we may call the foundation of her character, that under other circumstances she might have almost become another Ophelia; but she differs from her just as a plant grown in the fresh, pure country air, under all the wholesome, beautiful influences of earth and sky, differs from another plant of the same species, struggling for a stunted, miserable existence in the poisonous atmosphere of a cellar in a great city. Though a king's daughter, she has been brought up from her earliest infancy by rich farmer folk, the kind old shepherd and his bustling wife. She has wanted for nothing, but she has taken part in the rough out-of-door life; milked her ewes, and under the superintendence of the dame has helped to manage the house, whose head she was one day to be. Her full and busy life has brought her into contact with rough spirits, as the shepherd himself, and her boorish brother, the clown;

and this, and the rule she has had to maintain over the men and maids of the place, has fostered in her an independent judgment, a spirit of self-sustainment in the execution of her daily duties, that would otherwise have been foreign to her nature. In mind, and, to judge from her frank and occasionally brusque manner, in body also, she is hardier and healthier than Ophelia. It is noteworthy that when we first hear of her, the clown, who is reading over her list of groceries, does not quite approve of her ordering rice; but he never dreams of interfering in her special province—the housekeeping.

Whatever she undertakes, she does with a capability, a grace, and a perfection all her own. Florizel says of her:

> "What you do
> Still betters what is done. When you speak, sweet,
> I'd have you do it ever; when you sing,
> I'd have you buy and sell so; so give alms;
> Pray so; and, for the ordering your affairs,
> To sing them too. When you do dance, I wish you
> A wave o' the sea, that you might ever do
> Nothing but that; move still, still so,
> And own no other function: each your doing,
> So singular in each particular,
> Crowns what you are doing in the present deeds,
> And all your acts are queens."—*W. T.*, Act IV. sc. iii.

Nor does her lover only pass this judgment on her, the old shepherd also gives her the same praise. In all her acts there is a spontaneity, a perfection, and a fearlessness, combined with rustic freedom, such as we only find in girls when there has been nothing in their lives to cow them, and when they have the perfect unconsciousness given by a retired, unworldly bringing-up. It is indeed to her bringing-up that she owes the chief difference between herself and Ophelia. Her rougher, freer life, the semi-responsible position she has held at the farm, has brought out her good qualities, and has nourished her small power of independent action, while in Ophelia everything has tended to repress it. In all the capital points in her character Perdita is identical with Ophelia; she is as refined, as gentle, and almost as silent, with a marked inability for taking the initiative in anything outside her own sphere.

Like Ophelia she loves above her station; and, like her, of a

timid nature, she is inclined to foresee troubles; she needs no father to tell her how unequal the match between herself and Prince Florizel must be, and when we first meet them, she speaks of it with direct common sense, but how differently to the hard, worldly wisdom of poor Ophelia; though she dreads separation from Florizel, she never doubts his love.

> "To me, the difference forges dread; your greatness
> Hath not been used to fear. Even now I tremble
> To think, your father, by some accident,
> Should pass this way as you did: O, the fates!
> How would he look, to see his work, so noble,
> Vilely bound up? What would he say? Or how
> Should I, in these my borrowed flaunts, behold
> The sternness of his presence?"

> "Your resolution cannot hold, when 't is
> Oppos'd, as it must be by the power of the king;
> One of these two must be necessities,
> Which then will speak; that you must change this purpose,
> Or I my life."—*W. T.*, Act IV. sc. iii.

So fearful and depressed is she, that her lover is obliged to encourage and comfort her repeatedly, and her sad thoughts are only banished by the arrival of her guests. Full of a native timidity, which however has had only her modesty to encourage it, she shrinks into the background, and her father has to command, and her lover to cheer her, before she will come forward to receive her guests, as her little apology to Polixenes tells us, for the first time in her life. But how exquisite is her greeting to the two strangers, whom, in her youth, she looks on as old men.

> "Reverend Sirs,
> For you there's rosemary and rue: these keep
> Seeming and savour all the winter long;
> Grace and remembrance be to you both,
> And welcome to our shearing."

Not all Ophelia's Court training has taught her such simple dignity, but Perdita, though timid by nature, has never been cowed. She is full of poetic feeling, and, inspired by the presence of her lover, her flower speeches are among the most lovely and musical that Shakspere ever wrote. Then she suddenly remembers how

much more than usual she has spoken, apologizes, covered with confusion, and says little else to the end of the scene. For when there is nothing to excite her, Perdita is, as we have said, as silent as Ophelia, though at the same time she has sweet and sensible words in which to clothe her thoughts, with nothing of that dodging and habit of hiding her mind and heart which we find in the Danish girl, produced by the severity and strong repressive tendency of her rearing. After Florizel's public profession of his love for her on their betrothal, the shepherd has to ask her:

"Say you the like to him,"

before she will speak at all; but her answer, though of a rustic plainness, can vie with her lover's courtly periods.

> "I cannot speak
> So well, nothing so well; no, nor mean better:
> By the pattern of my own thought, I cut out
> The purity of his."—Act IV. sc. iii.

Ophelia's first scene apparently took place on the same day as that on which Laertes received permission to return to France, and while Hamlet was waiting for the hour at which he was to meet his friends on the platform, and await the Ghost. About two months are supposed to elapse between the 1st and 2nd Acts, during which time Ophelia dutifully obeyed her father's command, shut her doors against the Prince, and refused his letters, while he fell into a state that caused the conscious-stricken King and Queen much uneasiness. Polonius is sending a trusty servant with letters and money to his son, and has given him those elaborate instructions how to play the spy on him, which show with such distinctness the moral blindness of his respectable character, when Ophelia rushes into his presence in such evident terror, that dropping all his ordinary circumlocution he cries, "How now, Ophelia, what's the matter?" and when she gasps out in the extremity of fear, "Alas, my lord, I have been so affrighted," he, frightened too, replies, "With what, in the name of God?" No common emotion on her part could so have shaken Polonius out of his long-winded, usual style of speech. Here we see Ophelia for the only time in her sane senses free from the constraint of her

circumstances and upbringing. Speaking in little short sentences, as though still gasping for breath, she tells how, when sitting alone over her sewing, the Prince, whose madness was already the talk of the Court, comes before her; pale, trembling, dirty, dishevelled, his dress in the utmost disorder.

> "And with a look so piteous in purport,
> As if he had been loosed out of hell,
> To speak of horrors,—"

and which went straight to the heart of her who told the tale. To Polonius's question, "Mad for thy love?" she answers with a kind of appeal, and still with a curious implied doubt,

> "My lord, I do not know;
> But, truly, I do fear it."

Notice the accent falling on the *know*, and the significance of the pause after it, given by the semicolon at the end of the line. Her next speech is from a more collected mind, as the smoothness of the rhythm and the length of the lines show; but as her terror passes off, she feels more, and describes what took place at greater length.

> "He took me by the wrist, and held me hard;
> Then goes he to the length of all his arm;
> And, with his other hand thus, o'er his brow,
> He falls to such perusal of my face,
> As he would draw it. Long stay'd he so:
> At last,—a little shaking of mine arm,
> And thrice his head thus waving up and down,—
> He raised a sigh so piteous and profound,
> That it did seem to shatter all his bulk,
> And end his being. That done, he lets me go:
> And with his head over his shoulder turn'd,
> He seemed to find his way without his eyes;
> For out o' doors he went without their help,
> And, to the last, bended their light on me."

Simple as her words are they move us profoundly, and the spectacle of his unhappiness seems to have touched her very soul; even Polonius feels it.

> "I am sorry,—
> What, have you given him any hard words of late?"

But the long speech with which he prefaces his question, in his ordinary commentatory style, brings her back to every-day

life, and gives her time to cool down. Her terror over, and her heart relieved by the unusual outpouring, she drops at once into her accustomed state of reserve. She would like to say how impossible it is to her ever to be harsh or unkind to her hero, but the words will not come, and the feeling only finds expression in the exclamation, "No, my good lord!" and she continues half as though she were confessing and excusing a fault for which she expected a scolding, and half as though she deplored the pain she had caused.

"But, as you did command,
I did repel his letters, and denied
His access to me."

Notice how the accent falls on the "did" in the second line of the speech, and the pause made by the end of the line on and after "denied." Then old Polonius, delighted to find, as he thinks, that the affection of the Prince is real, and that his madness may after all so work on the King and Queen as to give him a Royal son-in-law, prepares to go with his daughter to take the news to the King. For, as he says with characteristic caution:

"This must be known; which, being kept close, might move
More grief to hide, than hate to utter love."

Various commentators have found great fault with Ophelia for her conduct during the interview with Hamlet of which she tells her father, holding that as she certainly gives us the impression that there was something that he desired to say to her, she also must have known it, and should have encouraged and helped him to tell her his troubles. This does not follow, especially in so unperceptive a girl as Ophelia. But even if it were so, the sad thing is that she is not to blame, as Professor Dowden has said. It would have been most unnatural that a girl, whose bringing-up had repressed all spontaneity of speech and action, whose moral courage, never very great, had been crushed out of her, should have done anything but fail at such a crisis, and it is probably to remind us of her upbringing that the scene opens with Polonius's interview with Reynaldo.

Then, again, Ophelia lacks the passion which might have lifted her for the moment beyond her fears; and we feel the want of it in all her scenes; throughout the play she is pure, sweet, and highbred,

but somewhat cold. This scene, for instance, leaves us with the impression that her feeling for Hamlet was tender and pitiful; a very real affection, but not deep enough to give her the power of self-sacrifice, and without the strength and fire of passion. Thus, fully believing Hamlet to be out of his mind, she stands dumb with terror, and then runs away. The fault must be laid not on herself, but on her character and bringing-up. For in a weak woman who has been thoroughly cowed, a kind of paralysis of the will takes place, and her acts come not from her own volition, but from that of the stronger nature, under whose domination she lives; should its influence be for a moment withdrawn, she knows not what to do, and stands without resource, the sport of circumstances.

Off bustles Polonius to the King and Queen, but instead of taking his daughter with him, he appears to have thought it better first to sound their Majesties on the subject. First, he artfully mentions it before the introduction of the ambassadors; then he recurs to it, and makes a long preamble, watching the effect of his announcements as they drop from him one by one. But the guilt of the Royal pair has led them too surely to the real cause of Hamlet's distemperature, for them to give any indication of their thoughts, and, except for an exclamation and an impatient question from the Queen, Polonius unfolds his tale unchecked. On altering his plan he got from his daughter one of Hamlet's letters, probably written before his interview with the Ghost, as she herself tells us that since that time he had had no communication with her.

It was not given up willingly. Polonius says it was shown him "in obedience," and we can well imagine the cross-questioning to which he would subject her to obtain information as to the "time, means, and place" of her princely lover's "solicitings." The Queen only half-believes that Hamlet is mad for love; "it may be," she says, "very likely"; the King is only too glad to be able to watch Hamlet, when he may let fall some word which may be a clue to his real state of mind; Polonius is confident in the truth of his suppositions, and thus it is arranged that Ophelia is to meet Hamlet, as it were by accident, the King and her father being concealed where they can overhear all that passes. Whether Hamlet had some guess of what

was going on or not, as he has later about his being sent to England, is left doubtful, but he twice alludes to Ophelia, though not by name, in the scene which follows. One would almost suspect him of having overheard the whole plan at the lobby-door, whence he enters immediately after; and what more likely, in his then state of mind, than that he should have haunted the steps of the King, trying to discover whether the Ghost spoke truth or falsehood, and that in the passages referred to he was in his turn sounding Polonius, to find out whether he had heard aright or no?

We may remark that in a later scene he is introduced watching Claudius, who is praying.

And now we come to what we must feel is a blot on Ophelia's character: her conduct with regard to her interview with Hamlet in permitting spies to be placed on them, especially when she knew he wished to speak to her on some subject; putting this together with the fact that she had allowed a letter intended for herself alone to be handed about between the King, Queen, and Polonius, we must come to the conclusion that her love for the Prince, if real, was not great. We can only excuse her by remembering she had no idea of the hatred the King bore to Hamlet, which made the interview a species of trap for the ill-fated Prince; and also, the habit of unquestioning obedience in which she had been trained, which had prevented her from ever realizing that, as we leave childhood behind us, the responsibility of our acts must be our own, not that of the person through whose influence we have done them.

When Polixenes discovers himself, and forbids his son's marriage, Perdita is silent; reserved as Ophelia, her pain only breaks out in the petulant line, "I told you what would come of this," and in the pathetic one, "I'll Queen it no inch farther, but milk my ewes and weep." She has no counsels to offer in a matter so much outside her usual daily life, and would give up all as lost; but—and here we find a remarkable difference between her and Ophelia—when Florizel proposes flight from Bohemia, she asks advice of no one. In fair weather she has received her father's approbation, now she stands bravely by her lover, and is ready, without doubt or fear, to follow him to the world's end. She has retained the power of independent judgment,

which has been frightened out of Ophelia, and chooses her course aright when it is presented to her; but to strike out one for herself in any matter outside her familiar experience seems as impossible to her as to Ophelia, so that we feel that she might under other circumstances have indeed become like her. As it is, full of trusting faith, and with no hard worldliness to warp it, Florizel leads, and she follows without a question. He arranges the elopement on board ship; not quite so wild a plan in the days when men sailed to the other hemisphere in quest of the unknown as it would be now. It is Camillo, not she, who persuades him to adopt some definite plan, and go to Sicily instead; Perdita agrees to everything, and obediently disguises herself, as she is directed, leaving all in the hands of those whom she feels know better than herself. She only interferes to rebuke an assertion, which, to her pure unworldly soul, seems a low and a false one. Camillo, the old courtier, says:

> "Besides, you know,
> Prosperity 's the very bond of love;
> Whose fresh complexion and whose heart together
> Affection alters.
> *Perdita.* One of these is true:
> I think affliction may subdue the cheek,
> But not take in the mind."—*W. T.*, Act IV. sc. iii.

It is very characteristic that Perdita never suspects that Camillo might have had plans of his own to forward in sending them to Sicily, but there is nothing suspicious in her nature, and, equally so, that she has no expedient ready when he proves false. When she learns what is her real parentage, she has no words ready, she can only listen and weep; neither has she any when Hermione descends from her pedestal to resume her place in her husband's heart and Court; but we leave her certain of a happiness that poor Ophelia's doubting soul could never have compassed, and certain also that Florizel has a sweet, obedient wife, who will know well how to fill her place at his side, and we hope that fortune may never be so unkind as to require her to hold the reins of government. Both the King and Polonius are somewhat uneasy as to the part they are making Ophelia play; she has no such feelings, and gathers together her little remembrances, that the returning of them may provoke a lover's

quarrel, and a reconciliation that she hopes will end in their marriage.

She replies to the congratulations of the Queen with the smooth courtesy of a Court lady to her Sovereign, betraying nothing of her feelings, but perfectly self-possessed. She meets Hamlet joyfully; she is really glad to see and speak to him once more; the two months of their separation have seemed long to her.

"Good, my lord, how does your honour for this many a day?"

Then she produces her little treasures. His "No, not I, I never gave you aught," she interprets as a refusal on his part to take them back, and seems to have expected, and perhaps desired, some such speech, hailing it as the beginning of their quarrel, for she continues with a fearless calm, shown in the length and evenness of the lines, which we never find when Ophelia is frightened. Hamlet's behaviour in this scene has always been a moot point with commentators and actors: why he treated Ophelia in so rude and violent a fashion; whether he saw the King and Polonius in their hiding-place, and acted in this wild fashion in order to deceive them, and if so when he perceived them; and actors have been accustomed to force the sense, or add business nowhere indicated in the text to indicate at what point this took place. Indeed, so inexplicable is this scene, as far as it regards Hamlet, that our hypothesis above-stated may be the true one; not that it is without difficulty, but it presents somewhat more foundation in the text itself than the others. Pausing at the lobby-door, he may have heard the whole or part of Polonius's audience; the last speech of the old courtier just before his entrance would put him in possession of the whole plot, and of Ophelia's part in it.

> "At such a time I'll loose my daughter to him;
> Be you and I behind an arras then:
> Mark the encounter! if he love her not,
> And be not from his reason fallen thereon,
> Let me be no assistant for a state,
> But keep a farm, and carters."—Act II. sc. ii.

Then if he heard one of his letters read aloud to the King and Queen; to find that Ophelia had told her father of all their interviews, of all his tender solicitings, not even in confidence, but that he

might retail it to Claudius and Gertrude, would, as he knew nothing of the circumstances, place her before him in the light of an unscrupulous, designing woman; her late withdrawal from him in that of an artifice to increase his passion. When he now found her alone with her Prayer Book, he would jump to the conclusion that the plot was being carried out; that the Royal spy and his minister were somewhere within earshot; and that she whom he had hitherto worshipped had, like the Queen, fallen from her high estate by consenting to act as a lure to betray him to his enemies for the furtherance of her own ends. Every word she uttered would confirm him in this belief; what wonder then that he should turn upon her with the fierce, "Ha, ha, are you honest? are you fair? If you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty." Stunned, frightened, bewildered, she knows not what to say or do. At the one ray of hope, "I did love you once," she would still turn and nestle in his breast with the words, "Indeed, my lord, you made me believe so." His cruel, "I loved you not," dashes all her hopes to the ground; and her answer, "I was the more deceived," is rather a cry of pain than a set speech. More and more terrified at what she believes his raving madness; only realizing that the love she had come to think her own, and which she was now beginning freely to return, is hers no longer, her terror entirely gets the better of her presence of mind, and when Hamlet, to verify his suspicions, asks her, "Where is your father?" she can only stammer out the evident falsehood, "At home, my lord." Then with prayers to heaven for his restoration, she bears the insults that to her are quite incomprehensible, though to us clear enough, till at his departure she cries out in pain, forgetful of the hidden listeners:

> "O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
> The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword:
> The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion, and the mould of form,
> The observ'd of all observers! quite, quite down!
> And I, of ladies most deject and wretched,
> That sucked the honey of his music vows,
> Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,
> Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh.
> That unmatch'd form and feature of blown youth,

Blasted with ecstasy: O, woe is me!
To have seen what I have seen, see what I see!"

This, the one expression of her love, is most touching and beautiful. She is full of grief and pain, but more for him than for herself. She never speaks of disappointment at the downfall of her splendid prospects; it is the great change in him that wrings her heart. But it is remarkable that nearly all her speech, unselfish as it is, refers to his outward qualities; to his beauty and grace, to his high position and brilliant future, to his courage and accomplishments, his scholarly talk, and the brilliant impression he has made on others. Not to his lovely moral nature, not to his high intellect. Thus showing that her love was rather the romantic, fanciful affection of a very young girl, who makes a dream-lover for herself out of the outward gifts and graces of the real man. Possibly also, trained as she had been by Polonius, who could only recommend his son to ply his music, she had not yet learned to look for and value the nobler qualities of the people with whom she came in contact. Let us notice also, as a proof of her cold, habitually self-controlled nature, that though really deeply grieved, she can still put her sorrow into fitting words, can already measure it so as to be able to describe it. The passionate nature of Juliet, when she hears of Tybalt's death and Romeo's banishment, after searching heaven and earth for words and metaphors in which to vent her grief, finds them all too weak to express it. Ophelia remains sunk in sorrow, while Polonius and the King confer. The latter, keen-sighted through his fears, sees plainly that Hamlet has something on his mind; Polonius clings obstinately to the idea that neglected love caused his aberration; he cannot give up the hope of such an advancement for his family as Hamlet's marriage with Ophelia would cause. Then seeing her apparently wrapt in grief, and unconscious of what is passing around her, he rouses her with the words, "How now, Ophelia? you need not tell us what Lord Hamlet said, we heard it all," and then goes on speaking to Claudius as though she were, to his mind, too young for it to be unwise to talk of private matters before her, or perhaps relying on her well-known habit of extreme reticence. Thus she hears the plan for sending Hamlet to England, and the ominous words with which his

uncle-father concludes the scene, "Madness in great ones must not unwatched go."

With the boding words of the King still echoing in her ears, and before she has had time to recover from the shock which her stormy and terrible interview with Hamlet must have given her timorous nature, Ophelia is summoned to appear with the rest of the Court at the play he has commanded. Quiet and self-controlled as she seems, her very outward composure would make the agitation she had undergone act with all the greater power on her nerves. She has received her first intimation of her beloved's danger, and remembrances of Court gossip, of looks and words unnoticed at the time, but full of meaning now, come thronging to her mind. There is a complete change in her behaviour. Throughout this awful evening she tries feebly and awkwardly, as one unaccustomed to such an office, or indeed to act independently at any time, to screen and guard her poor mad lover, for such she believes he is. Hamlet has insisted on sitting by her, that he may the more easily observe the King and Queen. All the loose conversation he addresses to her she takes as part of his madness, quietly and patiently fencing it off, with the slight words with which a young lady puts aside a disagreeable remark. But when he speaks of his mother's hasty marriage, she at once tries to stop him, though with little tact and no success: "Nay, 'tis twice two months, my lord," for he continues to speak after a fashion most dangerous to himself, till the entrance of the Players, and she, having failed to stop him, will not attract attention to him by replying. Her question when the dumb show is over, "What means this, my lord?" gives him the opportunity to answer, "Marry, this is miching Mallecho, it means mischief," and again she uneasily tries to turn the conversation with "Belike, this show imports the argument of the play." But he goes back to his former talk, girding at what he believes to be her unfaithfulness to him, till he is interrupted by the beginning of the play. Again he breaks out with a hit at Gertrude, saying of the vow of faithfulness of the player Queen, "If she should break it now," which Ophelia lets pass, hoping that it may be unnoticed; but he continues to attack first the King and Queen, then Ophelia herself; she, all

innocent of his method in this madness, watching them all with unspeakable anxiety, powerless to restrain her unhappy lover, till when the player King is poisoned, Hamlet bursts out with the savage—"He poisons him in the garden for his estate. His name's Gonzago; the story is extant, and written in very choice Italian. You shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife;" and then from the watchful Ophelia's lips comes the cry, "The King rises."

We are led to take this view from two lines, both omitted in our acting edition of *Hamlet*. One is that in which Polonius, after his daughter's interview with Hamlet, turns from the King to her, and rouses her from her depression. Why does he speak thus? Why should Ophelia not make her exit after her soliloquy, as she does now when we act the play? It is, theatrically speaking, a better exit for her than to go off later with her father and the King, doing and saying nothing. But the more we study Shakspere, the more we become convinced that he never gives or omits one touch to a scene or character without good and sufficient reason. It must, therefore, be that she is intended to hear the King's dark threat, and the plan for sending Hamlet to England, though with characteristic silence she says nothing. Then at the end of the play-scene comes the cry, likewise omitted in our acting edition, "The King rises," forming as it were its climax, and announcing to the audience that the Prince's purpose had been fulfilled, and that by his sudden unguarded movement the usurper has betrayed his guilt. That it should come from the reserved and silent Ophelia means, she had not only seen and watched the discomfort of the Royal pair during the play, but that she had done so with an eagerness, an anxiety, and a tension of her nerves, which, at the spectacle of the sudden rage of her lover's deadly enemy, forced from her the cry we allude to. Ophelia in her usual state of mind, if she had seen all, would still have said nothing, and we account for it by her knowledge of Hamlet's danger, and the consequent change in her bearing throughout the foregoing scene.

We now turn to consider for a few moments the character of Miranda: the surface qualities of her nature are indeed identical with many that Ophelia possesses; she is modest, sweet, gentle in

mind and manner, obedient, full of reverent love for her great father; but there the resemblance ends, and the more deeply do we study the character of Miranda, the wider is the difference that we perceive between her and the hapless love of the Danish Prince. Partly from her retired life and extreme youth, which has prevented their development; partly from her utter lack of vanity and the self-assertiveness it engenders, her nobler and more active virtues are as yet in the bud; but we see enough of them in the course of the play to feel sure that she will grow into "a perfect woman, nobly planned."

The most remarkable of her characteristics is her power of vivid sympathy, which seeks at once to express itself in action. Ophelia grieves for Hamlet, not with him; even though she loves him in her fashion, his danger has to be brought clearly home to her before she is aware of it, and then she shows neither energy nor invention to ward it off from him. Miranda's first words are an eager tearful intercession for the shipwrecked mariners, with whom she has no concern, and she will not be comforted till she receives the explicit assurance that no harm, not so much as to a hair, is betid to any creature in the vessel. Not till then can she listen to her own and her father's story. She has no small curiosity, for she seems to have long known that she had some strange history, and to have been content to wait till her father should tell it her at his own time, not even caring to speculate on it, so great a trust does she give to Prospero. How different to Ophelia, who dreads her father even while she loves him, and fears to ask his counsel! She obeys Prospero implicitly, speaks to him with extreme respect, "Certainly, sir, I can." "Oh, good sir, I do." But her love never degenerates into fear, magician though she knows him to be, and it is affection as well as pity that makes her cry on hearing of the tendance he had given her during her babyhood:

> "O, my heart bleeds
> To think o' the teen that I have turn'd you to,
> Which is from my remembrance."—Act I. sc. ii.

He has given her a thorough education, for we find her saying many things which the experience of her island home could never have taught her, and Prospero says:

"And here
Have I, thy schoolmaster, made the more profit
Than other princes can, that have more time
For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful."

But when he asks her if she remembers anything of her life before coming to the island, her answer shows the naturally accurate, as well as the highly-trained mind, stating the exact fact, without in any way drawing on the imagination:

"'T is far off,
And rather like a dream than an assurance
That my remembrance warrants. Had I not
Four or five women once, that tended on me?"

Prospero's greatest troubles have been caused by his too great love of a life of contemplation and study. Throughout his long exile he has confidently waited for the moment when his star should again be in the ascendant; thus ever looking forward to a Court life for his daughter, he has carefully trained her to avoid his mistakes, to stand alone, and judge for herself. Thus we find her at once endeavouring to shield Ferdinand from her father's injustice, though with a sweet loyalty she slips back to Ferdinand to say:

"Be of comfort;
My father's of a better nature, sir,
Than he appears by speech; this is unwonted,
Which now came from him,"

quite as much to defend her dear parent, as to encourage her lover. She has fallen in love with Ferdinand at first sight, and he with her spiritual beauty, just as Prospero hoped, thus avoiding any future political difficulty as to the destiny of Milan. With what steadfastness does she reply to him, and with what a soft humility when he says:

"To the most of men this is a Caliban,
And they to him are angels.
Miranda. My affections
Are then most humble: I have no ambition
To see a goodlier man."—Act II. sc. i.

Instinct tells her that her fate has come to her, and she will brave the magician's anger, gently and dutifully, but firmly. Her fresh affection is freely and almost unconsciously expressed, as only the

child of a desert island could speak it; even Perdita has a shamefacedness in hers; but for tenderness and purity her next scene with Ferdinand is perhaps the most exquisite of all Shakspere's love scenes. To make their affection for each other deeper and more real, Prospero has shown exaggerated harshness and unkindness to the young Prince, thus playing on his daughter's gift of sympathy. Puzzled and troubled by this injustice on her upright father's part, she steals out, believing him at his books, to carry comfort to the oppressed; in this doing just as he meant she should; and her part once chosen, she stands by it with womanly constancy. How different to Ophelia, who not only shuts herself from Hamlet when good reason is given her, but who will stand by, and even assist in playing the spy on him! Here Miranda can do more than merely pity; she is ready with active help, and would pile the heavy logs if Ferdinand would let her. Her declaration of love is much warmer and deeper than either Perdita or Ophelia's, and is most characteristic in its tender humility and helpfulness, and its sweet dignity. Ferdinand says to her, "Wherefore weep you?" She replies:

> "At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
> What I desire to give; and much less take
> What I shall die to want. But this is trifling,
> And all the more it seeks to hide itself,
> The bigger bulk it shows. Hence, bashful cunning!
> And prompt me plain and holy innocence!
> I am your wife if you will marry me;
> If not, I'll die your maid: to be your fellow
> You may deny me; but I'll be your servant,
> Whether you will or no."—Act III. sc. i.

A child Portia might have spoken this lovely speech. But for all her gentleness she seems to look forward to the day when she will sit on Ferdinand's right hand in thunderstorms, when she answers him, playing on his words:

> "Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle,
> And I would call it fair play."

His wife will be his helpmeet, and a right royal one.

Up to this point we have seen Ophelia as a timid girl, silent, loving solitude, and brooding much over the chief events in her life;

a habit never calculated to strengthen or balance a mind so self-controlled that, however strongly she may feel, she rarely gives it expression, the imprisoned feeling preying on her nerves and brain. Again, we notice in her an exaggerated timidity, a shrinking from any unpleasant words or scenes, that we often find in people in whom there is a tendency to mental derangement. She has just passed through three scenes, each one of which would have been enough to cause a serious shock to persons of greater strength of mind and character than she possesses: viz. Hamlet's visit to her at her father's house; her interview with him at the palace, and the scene that occurred during the play. Then must have followed a night of the most intense anxiety, while Polonius, whom she deeply loved, remained at the castle, that, as she very well knew, he might again play the spy on Hamlet, whose violence had terrified her, and for whose safety she feared. What wonder then, that when she received the awful news of her father's murder, her senses left her, and refusing to believe that the white peaceful face belonged to a dead person, she occasioned a distressing scene at the hurried funeral, by trying to prevent his being laid in the cold ground. In the next scene she alludes to it with horror—"to think they would lay him in the cold ground!" The poor child does not appear to have been in any way violent, and was allowed to wander freely about Elsinore and its neighbourhood.

We next meet her in the presence of the Queen, to whom she has succeeded in forcing her way. Now we learn how deep a love she had borne to her stern old father; the grief of his death is, perhaps, even more present with her than the loss of her lover; for though she speaks constantly of both, the references to her father are infinitely more pathetic. It is only now, however, that we learn how strong a hold the words of Laertes and Polonius, with regard to Hamlet, have taken on her mind, strengthened as they must have been by his behaviour during their last two interviews; they seem absolutely to haunt her, showing us how much she must have brooded over them. She says, "She hears there's tricks i' the world; and hems, and beats her heart;" and her very first song is about a disguised lover. This passes at once into a lament for her father,

recalling all the little circumstances of his burial; but when the King speaks to her the sad fancies vanish, and she replies with gracious courtesy: "Well, God 'ield you," a lady even in her madness; then she whispers mysteriously, "They say, the owl was a baker's daughter. Lord, we know what we are, but know not what we may be." Just as if, when her eyes opened to the real facts of Hamlet's life, she recognized that had she been brave enough to stand by him, many of their troubles might have been avoided; and that she felt herself, in her remorse, cursed, like the owl woman, who refused to succour our Lord. No idea, however, long remains in possession of her poor brain, and it floats away into a courteous wish, "Heaven be at your table!"

In studying these scenes we must constantly remember Horatio's description of the mad girl, speaking "things in doubt, that carry but half sense." And also that, as in the owl speech, her central idea, if we may so call it, is constantly changing; some allied subject, or even one suggested to her by the sight of the person she is speaking to, or by some passing remembrance becoming the chief one, as she has lost the power of concentrating her thoughts. Now she would explain her meaning, which she sees the King has not caught; but again she loses the thread of her discourse, and passes abruptly to the merry song, "To-morrow is St Valentine's day;" but through it runs the idea of the frailty of woman, and the falseness of man, which has been so forcibly impressed on her mind during the last months. Then comes a fall into pathos, "I hope all will be well," and the infinitely sad, "we must be patient," the language of a soul that can take no active steps for its own deliverance. Then with a threat that her brother shall know of their treatment of her father, she turns to go. But the calling of her coach suggests new ideas; she imagines herself to be leaving some Court festival, as she has so often left those very rooms in all the pride of her beauty; and with a sense of something omitted, she turns to say, "Good night," and passes out with graceful gestures and sweet smiles. She is a terrible wreck for her brother to see, when she returns laden with flowers, and meets but does not recognize him. Now the evil marriage of Claudius and Gertrude is uppermost in her mind, as we see by the

flowers she gives them, and also her father's death, as we learn from the flowers she gives Laertes; the withered violets, emblems of fidelity, she takes as belonging to her father, whom she doubtless regarded with a daughter's pride as a pattern of upright loyalty. Then her thoughts return to Hamlet, but Laertes' pained face, as she trills out her song of "Bonny sweet Robin," brings back her sad vein. The tender tones change to a heart-broken dirge, and then with a prayer for all Christian souls, perhaps in pitiful remembrance of one who needed help even more than her father, and a blessing on all present, she passes from our sight for ever.

Much has been written about these closing scenes as to whether Ophelia were in truth pure or no. That she sang such a song as "To-morrow is St Valentine's day," is easily accounted for; not only by the cautions of her family, of which, to her, poor soul, it is the echo, but also by the well-known sad fact that in madness, the very things are sung and said that would be farthest from the lips of the poor patients when in their sane senses. That she should ever have heard such a song, by the customs of Elizabeth's days, which permitted broad reference to subjects now studiously ignored among us. This and Hamlet's conversation in the play-scene is the only real evidence against her, and this is fully explained, if we remember, that he was then in the full belief that she was abetting his uncle in his schemes against him. The cautions of Laertes and Polonius are only such as, under the circumstances, would be given to any girl by rather coarse-minded men in a free-spoken age. All her own words and actions show us a pure, sweet woman, with modesty of heart and mind, as well as of manner. We must also consider that it would be very unlike Shakspere's method of working to draw such a creature as Ophelia, fair, good, and gentle, and then at the last, just when she most needs the sympathy of the audience, to throw her from her high pedestal into the mud. True, he has depicted good and bad men and women, with a great and wonderful toleration; but sin itself he hates with the hate of a thoroughly healthy mind; and he does not lead us to love and sympathize with unhappy vice. Also, we must remember that in his time harmless lunatics were allowed to live with their friends, and wander freely through the

towns and villages; so that an English audience of that date would understand a representation of madness far better than a modern one, and would not need explanations of points now dark to us.

After all, the poor child had a sufficiently large number of faults to link her with ordinary human beings. True, she possessed an unusually large number of those passive virtues, which are so noble, because for their full development they require perfect self-rule, and which form a necessary part of every beautiful female character. Thus she had obedience to lawful authority, as represented in her father; gentleness, patience, and purity; and if active courage is lacking in her, she has at least the essentially feminine virtue of quiet endurance. Still we cannot but feel in her a total lack of all those active virtues which are equally necessary to woman in the proper guidance of her life; but which in a truly strong character are never perceived till the moment comes for their use. With great endurance, she has no courage; with self-control, no presence of mind; she can give a tender, clinging affection, but not a great trusting love; and though she shows perfect filial obedience, she has no judgment to discern where her duty to her father ends, and that to her lover begins; and we must feel that hers was a one-sided, unbalanced character. Committing no deliberate sin, the evil she does and is the cause of all comes from the same want of balance.

But do not let us blame her, or if so, very gently; Perdita's rearing had taught her to stand alone, at least, to a certain extent; Miranda had the power to do so by nature as well as by education; Ophelia had it by neither; her life has been that of a slave, and she has the virtues and the vices of one. To a certain extent she is worldly-minded, but perhaps there is an appropriateness in the fact, that while all Hamlet's associates but one are of the earth earthy, so even the woman he loved, should, though good in herself, have been infected by the breath of the world. If she erred, she also expiated her errors most grievously, and we only do her justice when we turn from the maimed rites of her funeral with a sigh of pity for "poor Ophelia!"

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XX.

SHAKSPERE IN POLAND, RUSSIA, AND OTHER SCLAVONIC COUNTRIES.

By DR ZIOLECKI.

(*Read at the 92nd Meeting of the Society, Friday, December* 14, 1883.)

Having examined a great number of Shakspere's commentators, and looked over all the editions of Shakspere extant and available in the British Museum, I have not come across a work which mentioned those translations of Shakspere which have appeared in Poland, Russia, and other Slavonic countries. The study of Shakspere in Poland and Russia cannot be compared with that of Germany, where Shakspere is read and admired as much as Goethe and Schiller themselves; yet the Slavonic literature, as regards Shakspere, is of too great importance to be passed over in silence. There are but few Shakspere Societies or reading circles to promote the study of Shakspere;[1] but the general interest the educated portion of the Slavonic people take in Shakspere's plays has produced a great many translations, which at least are worthy of mention.

Shakspere became generally known in the East of Europe at the end of the last century, through French and German translations. Boguslawski mentions in his dramatic works (vol. i. p. 181) that the first representation of Shakspere, upon the Polish stage, was that of *Hamlet*, which took place in Lemberg in the year 1797. I could not ascertain whose translation was employed—probably that of Kazincza, who is the first translator of Shakspere's Plays. Boguslawski, under whose direction *Hamlet* was represented, translated *Hamlet* into Polish in the year 1820. The *Russian Theatre*, a dramatic work of the year 1786, contains a play entitled *Hamlet*, by

[1] There is a special Shakspere Society in Moscow, the members of which give every year one or two plays of Shakspere.

Alex. Sumarakow; but it is rather an adaptation and imitation than a translation of Shakspere's *Hamlet*.

But long before the first translation of Shakspere's *Hamlet* was printed, Shakspere was known through French or German translations.

Coxe, in his *Voyage through Poland*, mentions that the last King of Poland, Stanislas Poniatowski, entered into a conversation with him on Shakspere, whom the King appreciated very much.

The better translations, however, begin with the year 1842, when Kefalinski or pseudonymous Holowiński made the first attempt to give a complete translation of Shakspere's works into Polish; but his works contain only six plays—*Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, and *The Tempest*; to which Jankowski or pseudonymous John of Dycalb added a third volume. Bohn, in his *Bibliographer's Manual* (vol. iv. p. 2365), enumerates all the translations to the year 1858. Of all these translations that of Shakspere's historical play, *King John*, by Joseph Korzeniowski, is unrivalled by any of its predecessors.

The first complete translation of Shakspere's Plays was published in the year 1875 at Varsow, edited by the celebrated Polish poet and novelist, Kraszewski. It contains 37 plays, with 545 illustrations, by H. C. Selous; and is the work of Stanislas Kozmian, Joseph Paszkowski, and L. Ulrich. Stanislas Kozmian, president of a Learned Society in Posen, edited, in the year 1866, a translation of seven of Shakspere's Plays: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King Lear*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *King John*, *King Richard II.*, and *King Henry IV.* Part I. and II., of which the first, the third, fourth, and fifth are inserted in the complete collection. He has promised to give a complete translation of Shakspere's Plays, and it is to be regretted that he has not done so. Mr Kozmian is a man whose poetic gifts and perfect knowledge of the English language enable him to give a rendering of Shakspere in the most original form, without losing the beauties and peculiarities of his style. Joseph Paszkowski translated 13 Plays; viz. *King Henry IV.* Part I., *King Richard III.*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, *The Tempest*, *The Merry*

Wives of Windsor, *Merchant of Venice*, *and the Taming of the Shrew.*

It is to be noticed that this gentleman has devoted a large part of his life to the study and translation of Shakspere's Works, and intended also to give a complete translation, but death interrupted his work. All his translations are inserted in the edition of 1875. It was impossible for me to compare all the translations with the original, but those of the plays I read—*Macbeth* and *The Merchant of Venice*—must be considered as true and faithful ones. He succeeded also in his attempt to preserve the character and peculiarities of Shakspere's Plays, avoiding that stiffness or formality which is connected with a servile translation. Prof. Ulrich contributed the largest part—namely, 20 out of 37 Plays—of those wanted for a complete collection, after Kozmian's and Paszkowski's translations had been purchased by the publishers, Gebethner and Wolff at Varsow. On the completion of Shakspere's translations these publishers applied to Mr Ulrich, and his 20 Plays were published with the 17 translated by Messrs Kozmian and Paszkowski.[1] Prof. Ulrich, a philologist, devoted to the study of modern languages, had already a complete translation of Shakspere's Plays long before the publishers had applied to him. The merits of his translations are: fidelity to the text, polish, and strength of style. It is to be regretted that Mr Ulrich did not find besides a publisher for all his translations, then we should have a complete translation of Shakspere's Plays by the same author. In spite of the faults which no doubt the complete translation of 1875 has in common with all, it is nevertheless the best that any Slavonic people can boast of, and may be placed side by side with the best German and French translations. It may be remarked that the great difficulty in translating Shakspere's Works into Polish lies in the wide difference which exists in the construction of the two languages, rendering it almost impossible to give an exact equivalent of Shakspere's peculiarities of style, or faithfully delineate the humorous characters. But Poland,

[1] Mr Paszkowski translated also, *Twelfth Night*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *Much Ado about Nothing*, which are included in a collection of his translations, published in 1857-8 at Varsow.

in spite of all the difficulties with which she has had to contend, has done more towards diffusing a knowledge of Shakspere than could be expected in her critical situation. Although the celebrated Polish modern poets, Mićkiewicz, Malczewski, Krasiński, Odyniec, and Morawski, rather drew their inspirations from Byron, whose principal works they translated; yet, after the first glow of enthusiasm for this poet had died away, Shakspere took his place, and from that moment his popularity among the educated people has never diminished. In the same way as the gloomy misanthropy of Byron's poems finds favour with the sentimentally disposed Slavonic people, the tragedies of Shakspere exercise a magic influence over *their intellects.*

The following particulars regarding the representation of Shakspere's Plays in Poland, have been furnished by one connected with the stage of that country: Of all Polish stages, that of Varsow, having the best artists, represented the largest number of Shakspere's Plays. The Polish actors who particularly excel in Shakspere's Plays at the present time are: John Królikovski, Ladnovski, Boleslas Leszczynski (*Othello*), Rapacki (*Hamlet*), and Joseph Rychter (*Merchant of Venice*), now Director of the Polish theatre at Posen. Madam Modrzejovska[1] and Madam Deryng are the best in female characters. The Polish stages at Posen, Cracow, Lemberg, have no eminent Shaksperian performers, and being supported by private means, are unable to spend the great time, care, and training required for a brilliant performance of Shakspere's Plays. During the last twenty years sixteen of Shakspere's Plays have been represented on the Polish stage (in the Polish language). *The Merchant of Venice, Hamlet, Othello, Romeo and Juliet, King Lear, Macbeth, King Richard III., King John, Antony and Cleopatra, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Merry Wives of Windsor, The Taming of the Shrew, Much Ado about Nothing, The Winter's Tale, As you Like it,* and probably the *Comedy of Errors.* The Polish people take great interest and delight in the Tragedies, much more so than in the Comedies, of which *The Merchant of Venice* has become the most

[1] See "The Story of Helena Modjeska," by Mabel Collins. (London, 1883.)

popular (perhaps for the typical character of a Jew so common in Poland).

If Poland were in a different position, Shakspere's Plays would be more popular than they are at this moment. But in the present state of affairs the National Play is in the ascendant. Arguments taken from ancient or modern Polish history and adapted to the Polish stage, or representations of Polish family life (in the Comedies of Count Fredro), are of course more attractive than German, English, or French Plays, of which the last find most favour. Besides Shakspere and Byron, a great many English novels are translated into Polish, and read with great interest; but to promote the knowledge of Shakspere among the lower classes, I should propose to translate *Lamb's Tales from Shakspere*, and to print them in London in a cheap form, so that they might be put within the reach of the poorer classes as well as those who can afford to buy the very expensive Polish edition of Shaksperian translations. The Polish people are very quick to learn foreign languages, of which they like French the best; but towards diffusing the knowledge of the English language in Poland more ought to be done. Of the three Polish Universities at Cracow, Lemberg, and Varsow, the last has perhaps a Professor of the modern languages; Cracow and Lemberg only lecturers acquainted with English. I hope the time will come when Shakspere will not only amuse on the stage, but become the subject of study in Poland for modern philologists.

With regard to the other Slavonic countries, I am very sorry that I cannot acquit myself of this part of my task with as much fulness as in speaking of my own country. Bohemia, for as long a time as Poland, was desolate of a complete translation of Shakspere's Plays, of which she can now boast. *Dramaticka Díla Williama Shakespeara Nakladem Kralostvi Ceskeho*—finished in the year 1874—is a complete collection of Shakspere's Plays in the Bohemian language. The translators are J. G. Kolar, Fr. Doucha, L. Celakovsky, and J. B. Maly. The *Jahrbücher* of the German Shakspere Society gives many particulars with regard to the representation of Shakspere's Plays in Prague (the capital of Bohemia), from the year 1878 to 1882. According to that report—

A Midsummer Night's Dream was represented	3 times.
The Taming of the Shrew	3 „
King Henry IV. Part I. and II.	2 „
Romeo and Juliet	2 „
The Merchant of Venice	2 „
Hamlet	3 „
Othello	2 „
King Richard III.	once
Much Ado about Nothing	„

In the years 1878 and 1879 the Meininger performed Shakspere's Plays in Prague, in German. I cannot state the particulars about Shakspere's Plays being represented or acted in the Bohemian language, as those furnished by the German Shakspere Society regard only the German theatres, and a few other foreign ones at Prague, Moscow, and St Petersburg, which have also German theatres.

The general Catalogue of the German Shakspere Society mentions among the Slavonic translators a Serbian one of *Julius Cæsar*, by Milosch Zetschewitz; and of *Romeo and Juliet*, by L. Kostitsch, both published in the year 1866. The first of Shakspere's Plays translated into the Russian language was *Romeo and Juliet;* it was printed in the year 1772 in a periodical called *The Evenings.* Then followed *Richard III*, translated in 1783 at the provincial town Nishni-Novgorod; then came *Julius Cæsar*, translated by Karamzin in 1786. To the same year must be referred an adaptation to Russian manners of the *Merry Wives*, by the Empress Catherine, under the title "How good it is to have a basket of linen." She also wrote two historical plays, the arguments of which were taken from ancient Russian history, resembling very much Shakspere's *King John.* Sumarakow's tragedy *Hamlet* (an adaptation from Ducis) was published in 1748, and soon afterwards performed by amateurs.

Of Shakspere's popularity in Russia one may judge from the circumstance that few of his plays have been exempt from repeated translations by different persons. Thus, for *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* there are seven translations; *Macbeth* has been translated six times; *King Lear* also six; *Richard III, Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Julius Cæsar* four times each, &c.

In the year 1865 Nekrasow and Gerbel edited a complete collection of Shakspere's Plays in Russian, by eleven different authors, which is considered to be the best, as it is translated from the original. The rest are taken from Polish, German, French, and Italian prose and verse translations. There is a much greater difficulty in translating English into Russian than into Polish; perhaps this will account for the number of translations which have found their way into Russian literature through other languages. These latter are, of course, of very little value as translations of Shakspere's works, as they are only stage adaptations.

Besides the eleven authors mentioned, who have translated from the original, the following celebrated Russian poets have also taken parts, as I suppose, from the same source: Pushkin, over whom Byron's Poems exerted a very great influence, published in the year 1834 a Poem entitled *Angelo*, the argument of which is taken from *Measure for Measure.*

Lermontov, who was also inspired by Byron's Poems, translated from Schiller's *Macbeth*, the 3rd scene of Act I., entitling his Poem, *Three Witches.*

M. Katkov, the leader of the Russian reactionary party, published his part of a translation of Shakspere's Play, *Romeo and Juliet*, from the English original, in a Journal called *The Moscow Observer* (1838-9), and inserted afterwards the whole Play in the Panteon of 1841. It is to be regretted that these poets did not attempt something more than the short extracts for which the Russian literature is indebted to them. Before giving some particulars about the representation of Shakspere's Plays on the Russian stage, I am going to appraise, as far as it is in my power, the numerous Russian translations of Shakspere's Plays. The best complete translation of Shakspere's Plays is that mentioned above, edited by Nekrasow and Gerbel (St Petersburg, 1865), in four volumes.

The first volume contains a Preface on "Literature and Theatre in England, till Shakspere," by W. P. Botkin, and every Play is preceded by an argument. It contains:

1. *Coriolanus*, by A. W. Drujhinin; 2. *Othello*, by P. Weinberg; 3. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, by N. M. Satin; 4. *Julius Cæsar*,

by D. L. Michalovsky; 5. *Much Ado about Nothing*, by A. J. Kronenberg; 6. *King Lear*, by A. W. Drujhinin; 7. *Macbeth*, by A. J. Kronenberg; 8. *Timon of Athens*, by J. P. Weinberg; 9. *Twelfth Night*, by A. J. Kronenberg.

Volume II., Preface. 10. *Hamlet*, by A. J. Kronenberg; 11. *The Tempest*, by N. M. Satin; 12. *Troilus and Cressida*, by A. L. Sokolovsky; 13. *Romeo and Juliet*, by N. P. Grekov; 14. *The Taming of the Shrew*, by A. N. Ostrovsky; 15. *King John*, by A. W. Drujhinin; 16. *King Richard II.*, 17. *King Henry IV.* Part I., 18. *King Henry IV.* Part II. by Sokolovsky.

Volume III. 19. *King Henry V.*, 20. *King Henry VI.* Part I., 21. *King Henry VI.* Part II., 22. *King Henry VI.* Part III., by Sokolovsky; 23. *King Richard III.*, by A. W. Drujhinin; 24. *King Henry VIII.*, 25. *Merchant of Venice*, 26. *As you Like it*, by J. P. Weinberg; 27. *Antony and Cleopatra*, by L. Korzeniovsky.

Volume IV. contains a Preface, a Biographical Sketch of W. Shakspere, by P. Polevoi, and 28. *The Winter's Tale*, by Sokolovsky; 29. *All's Well that ends Well*, by J. P. Weinberg; 30. *Cymbeline*, by Th. B. Miller; 31. *Titus Andronicus*, by A. J. Rijhov; 32. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, by Th. B. Miller; 33. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, by P. J. Weinberg; 34. *Measure for Measure*, by Th. B. Miller; 35. *The Comedy of Errors*, by P. J. Weinberg; 36. *Pericles*, by A. Sokolovsky; 37. *Love's Labour's Lost*, by P. J. Weinberg.

Sokolovsky has translated 10 Plays, Weinberg 9, Kronenberg 4, Drujhinin 4, Miller 3, Rijhov 2, Ostrovsky 1, Grekov 1, Korzenivosky 1, Satin 1, Michalovski 1, in all 37 Plays. Russian literature has also another complete collection of translations of Shakspere, by N. Ketzcher, edited by Soldatenkov, between 1862—73, in seven vols., and completed by the appearance of two more volumes in 1878-9. It is of no great value, as most of them are prose translations, and although mentioned by Nekrasow and Gerbel, none are inserted in their collection. Shakspere's *Sonnets* were translated in the year 1880, by Gerbel; and Tschernoff has translated Dowden's "Shakspere: His Mind and Art."

There are three biographies in the language; one (by an unknown author) was published in 1796 in the periodical entitled *Pleasant and*

Useful Pastime; the second was written by Slavin and published as a separate book in 1844 under the title *The Life of Shakspere, and the Opinions of Russian and Foreign Writers about him;* the third was written by Polevoi, who edited a Shakspere for Schools (St Petersburg, 1876).

It is not within my power to give the same details about the representation of Shakspere's Plays on the Russian stage (in Russian), as in the case of the Polish theatre. I can only repeat the notices till the year 1865, that I have found in Nekrasow's collection of translations. *Hamlet*, by Sumarakov, was the first Play of Shakspere represented on the Russian stage, about the year 1787. Then the Empress Catherine II. adapted two Plays of Shakspere, *King John* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, to the Russian stage. Nekrasow states that Ristori played *Lady Macbeth* twice, at Moscow and Petersburg, after the year 1861, in an Italian translation, by Montanelli, while the other tragedians acted in Russian. In this Play, the negro, Ira Aldrige, played *Macbeth* in English (at Odessa and Kieff), and also the characters *King Lear*, *Othello*, and *Shylock*, at Odessa and Kieff, about the year 1861. Many other Plays of Shakspere have no doubt been represented till the year 1865 on the Russian stage (in Russian); and if we can trust Nekrasow, only three Plays, viz. *As you like it*, *Pericles*, and, perhaps, *Love's Labour's Lost*, were excluded, and could not be represented till the year 1865 (they are so distinctly specified), as they were not yet translated. Doubtless also many foreign actors and actresses of eminence have appeared upon the Russian stage as characters in Shakspere's Plays. At the present day there are few Russian actors who have distinguished themselves in an eminent degree in Shakspere's Plays.[1] The details I found in the *Jahrbücher* of the German Shakspere Society, state that the German theatre at Moscow represented in the year 1882 *The Taming of the Shrew* twice, and *Romeo and Juliet* once; that German players in Petersburg performed on the 11th of Feb., 1881, *The Merchant of Venice;* on the 28th of Dec., 1881, *The*

[1] Among Russian Actors Samoilow and Lensky have distinguished themselves, I am told, in an eminent degree in Shakspere's plays, the first especially in *King Lear*, the second in the *Taming of the Shrew*.

Taming of the Shrew; and on the 31st of Dec., 1881, *Romeo and Juliet. The Merchant of Venice* was represented thrice in the year 1882, *King Richard III.* twice, and *Hamlet* and *Othello* once. Lobe played, in the year 1882, *The Merchant of Venice* and *King Richard III.;* Barnay played *Hamlet* and *Othello;* Ingelt played *The Merchant of Venice* in the year 1881; while Miss Basté played *Portia;* and Miss Barkany played the *Catherine* and *Juliet.*

M. Alexandre Wolff, in his *Chronique des Théâtres Peterbourgeois,* mentions that during the last twenty-five years (from 1860) there have been played in the Russian capital 1101 dramas, comedies, and vaudevilles, of which 701 were new. One hundred and thirteen representations of Shakspere were given, 50 of Molière, 8 of Schiller. The *Chronique* itself would, perhaps, explain whether all Shakspere's Plays were represented, which the oftenest, and which in Russian. From the more numerous translations of the tragedies, I draw the conclusion that they have become more popular than the Historical Plays, with the exception of *Antony and Cleopatra, Julius Cæsar,* and *King John,* and the Comedies, of which *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* have been represented very often. As far as I am informed, I may state that only the educated Russian people in Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, and Kieff, and in the Baltic provinces at Riga have the opportunity of enjoying representations of Shakspere's Plays, but much more in the German theatres than on their own national stage. Alex. Nokolaevitch Ostrovsky has also written many national Plays; namely, *Groza* ('Storm') and *Tyagéluie Dni* ('Heavy Days'), extracts of which are inserted in the *Revue Britannique* and the *Edinburgh Review.*

"Ostrovsky, a satirist by nature, attacks unsparingly in his writings the leading national failings and vices of the Russian people. The majority of them enjoy very much his exposure of the Russian merchants' narrow-minded and short-sighted avarice, of his incorrigible tendency to cheat, and of his utter disregard of the laws of God and man, when business is concerned. They chuckle over his attacks on the propensity to drink, which has such a debasing effect on Russian middle-class life, and they are charmed by his thundering tirades against the devices and corruption which characterize the great majority of Government officials. They like to see the vices and follies of their neighbours lashed, even when

the thong of the satirist reaches themselves. A race by no means thin-skinned, in whom conscience has been but little developed, but who are endowed with a large sense of humour, they take their moral chastisement kindly, acknowledge its justice frankly, and then, going home straightway, recommence the habits from which it was intended to deter them. The dramatist must be careful about alluding to the Church; none of its ministers may be represented on the stage. It would be considered a sacrilege to admit an imitation of any of its sacred vestments into the wardrobe of a theatre. Even in a historical drama it is not allowable to introduce a clergyman of any description; a rule which involves the patriotic dramatist in considerable difficulties"—and will, perhaps, account for excluding Shakspere's historical Plays from the Russian national stage.

I inserted this short extract in order to state that the higher classes only are in the habit of enjoying representations of Shakspere, while the middle or lower classes go to the representations of national plays. My audience will forgive me for having exercised their patience, and drawn attention to a subject very slightly connected with Shakspere literature, but not devoid of interest. There is certainly at present but little reciprocity in literature between Russian and Western Europe, which is sufficiently accounted for by the remote and exceptional character of the Russian language, and by the peculiar habits of the people. Yet the writings of English authors are received in Russia with the heartiest recognition. Every book of note that creates a sensation in England, is at once reproduced in Russia, and the leading English novelists would be surprised if they knew how anxiously the fortunes of their heroes and heroines are followed by thousands of Russian readers, not only in the two great capitals of the Empire, but in every town into which the chief magazines make their way. We hope the time will come when Russia will pay back her debt, and make Englishmen translate her best works; for she has her own national literature.

SCRAPS.

baked meats, sb. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 180. "*Pastisserie:* f. (All kinde of) pies, or **baked meats**; pasterie worke: also, the making of pastemeats." 1611. Cotgrave.—F.

To be naught (*Hamlet*, III. ii. 137). A euphemism for to be licentious, whether in act or in talk. John Bunyan (*Grace Abounding*, &c., 1666), vindicating his character against certain persons who had slandered him, writes thus:—"I also calling all those fools, or knaves, that have made it anything of their business, to affirm . . . that I *have been naught* with other Women, or the like. When they have used to the utmost of their endeavours, and made the fullest enquiry that they can, to prove against me truly, that there is any Woman in Heaven, or Earth, or Hell, that can say, I have at any time, in any place, by day or night, so much as attempted to *be naught with* them." This passage explains Flute's speech (*M. N. D.*, IV. ii. 13): "You must say *paragon:* a paramour is, God bless us, a thing of naught," where the double meaning of *nought* = nothing, and *naught* in the sense indicated above, seems to be played upon. Also, Ophelia's rebuke to Hamlet for his licentious talk (*Hamlet*, III. ii. 137): "You *are naught*, you *are naught:* I'll mark the play." And it illustrates *Richard III.*, I. i. 97:

Brak. With this, my lord, myself have *nought* to do.
Gloust. Naught to do with Mistress Shore! I tell thee, fellow,
He that doth *naught* with her, excepting one,
Were best he do it secretly, alone.

W. A. Harrison.

Prick: L. L. L. IV. i. 125. *As Y. L. It*, III. ii. 102. Used in these places as an archery term (with a quibble). It became an archery term because it was the technical term for the centre of a circle (the butt). In Hoby's *Castilio's Courtyer*, 1561, we have in Sig. R. r. 2. v.—"as it is a harde matter in a circle to find out the **pricke** in the centre which is the middle." At present also I am inclined to think that the "noon tide prick," 2 *Henry VI.* I. 4, 34, and the "prick of noon," *R. & J.* III. iv. 105, were phrases derived from the quasi-central or meridian position of the sun in his apparent course, rather than because it was a mark or point in the dial. At least I have never, so far as I remember, met the word "prick" applied to any other dial number.—B. N.

The lazar kite of Cressid's kind: Henry V. ii. 1. Cf.—"there was little constancy in such **kites of Cressids kind.**" Greene's *Mamillia: a Mirror or Looking-glasse for the Ladies of England.* 1583. Stat. Reg., 3 Oct. 1580. Grosart's reprint, Huth Library, p. 16. So in his *Carde of Fancie*, Huth Lib., vol. 4, p. 132, we find the misprint "in such kites of Creesus kinde." From these two examples we may conclude the phrase to have been one known and in common use.—B. N.

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APPENDIX I.

THE NUMBER OF LINES IN SHAKSPERE'S WORKS.

(TABLES COMPILED BY MISS TEENA ROCHFORT SMITH AND F. J. FURNIVALL, FROM THE "GLOBE" EDITION, CORRECTED.)

PLAYS.

1.	Hamlet	3931
2.	Richard III.	3619
3.	Troilus and Cressida	3496
4.	2 Henry IV.	3446
5.	Coriolanus	3410
6.	Henry V.	3380
7.	Cymbeline	3339
8.	King Lear	3334
9.	Othello	3316
10.	1 Henry IV.	3176
11.	2 Henry VI.	3162
12.	Winter's Tale	3075
13.	Antony and Cleopatra	3063
14.	Romeo and Juliet	3052
15.	Merry Wives	3018
16.	All's Well	2966
17.	3 Henry VI.	2904
18.	As you like it	2857
19.	Much Ado	2826
20.	Henry VIII.	2822
21.	Measure for Measure	2821
22.	Two Noble Kinsmen	2818
23.	Love's Labour's Lost	2789
24.	Richard II.	2756
25.	Twelfth Night	2690
26.	1 Henry VI.	2677
27.	Merchant of Venice	2660
28.	Taming of the Shrew	2649
29.	King John	2570
30.	Titus Andronicus	2523
31.	Julius Cæsar	2478
32.	Pericles	2389
33.	Timon	2373
34.	Two Gent. of Verona	2294
	Carried forward	100,679

	Brought up	100,679
35.	Mids. N. Dream	2174
36.	Macbeth	2108
37.	Tempest	2064
38.	Comedy of Errors	1778
	Total (*Genuine & Spurious*)	108,803

Deduct, as other men's, in

Pericles	1634	
Titus Andronicus	2500	
Timon	1100	
Shrew	1339	
1 Henry VI.	2540	
2 Noble Kinsmen	1750	
Henry VIII.	1653½	
3 Henry VI.	339	
2 Henry VI.	766	
Tr. & Cress.	317½	108,803
	13,939	13,939
Dramas		94,864
Poems		5,599
Total, Genuine		100,463

POEMS.

Venus and Adonis	1194
Lucrece	1855
Sonnets	2154
Lovers' Complaint	329
Phœnix and Turtle	67
	5599
Passionate Pilgrim	210
Sonnets to Sundry Notes	220
	430

All's Well.

I.	i.	244	
	ii.	76	
	iii.	262	582
II.	i.	213	
	ii.	74	
	iii.	316[1]	
	iv.	57	
	v.	97	757
III.	i.	23	
	ii.	132	
	iii.	11	
	iv.	42	
	v.	104	
	vi.	125	
	vii.	48	485
IV.	i.	105	
	ii.	76	
	iii.	376	
	iv.	36	
	v.	112	705
V.	i.	38	
	ii.	59	
	iii.	340	437
		2966	2966

Antony & Cleopatra.

I.	i.	62	
	ii.	204	
	iii.	105	
	iv.	84	
	v.	78	533
II.	i.	52	
	ii.	250	
	iii.	42	
	iv.	10	
	v.	119	
	vi.	145	
	vii.	141[2]	759
III.	i.	37	
Forward		1329	1292

Antony & Cleopatra.

Brt. up		1329	1292
III.	ii.	66	
	iii.	51	
	iv.	38	
	v.	25	
	vi.	98	
	vii.	82	
	viii.	6	
	ix.	4	
	x.	37	
	xi.	74	
	xii.	36	
	xiii.	201	755
IV.	i.	16	
	ii.	45	
	iii.	23	
	iv.	38	
	v.	17	
	vi.	39	
	vii.	16	
	viii.	39	
	ix.	34	
	x.	9	
	xi.	4	
	xii.	49	
	xiii.	10	
	xiv.	140	
	xv.	91	570
V.	i.	77	
	ii.	369	446
		3063	3063

As you like it.

I.	i.	180	
	ii.	301	
	iii.	140	621
II.	i.	69	
	ii.	21	
	iii.	76	
	iv.	100	
Forward		887	621

As you like it.

Brt. up		887	621
II.	v.	65	
	vi.	19	
	vii.	200	550
III.	i.	18	
	ii.	457[3]	
	iii.	109	
	iv.	62	
	v.	139	785
IV.	i.	224	
	ii.	19	
	iii.	184	427
V.	i.	69	
	ii.	134	
	iii.	43	
	iv.	204	
Epilog.		24	474
		2857	2857

Coriolanus.

I.	i.	283	
	ii.	38	
	iii.	124	
	iv.	63	
	v.	29	
	vi.	87	
	vii.	7	
	viii.	15	
	ix.	94	
	x.	33	773
II.	i.	286	
	ii.	164	
	iii.	271	721
III.	i.	336	
	ii.	145	
	iii.	143	624
IV.	i.	58	
	ii.	54	
	iii.	57	
Forward		2287	2118

[1] l. 50, Globe, p. 262, col. i, should be 49. [2] l. 120 Gl. 924, i, should be 119.
[3] l. 450 Gl. should be 451 p. 218. ii.

Coriolanus.

Brt. up		2287	2118	
IV.	iv.	26		
	v.	251		
	vi.	161		
	vii.	57	664	
V.	i.	74		
	ii.	117		
	iii.	209		
	iv.	65		
	v.	7		
	vi.	156	628	
		3410	3410	

Comedy of Errors.

I.	i.	159		
	ii.	105	264	
II.	i.	116		
	ii.	221	337	
III.	i.	123		
	ii.	190	313	
IV.	i.	113		
	ii.	66		
	iii.	97		
	iv.	162	438	
V.	i.	426[1]	426	
		1778	1778	

Cymbeline.

I.	i.	178		
	ii.	43		
	iii.	40		
	iv.	185		
	v.	87		
	vi.	210	743	
II.	i.	70		
	ii.	51		
	iii.	160[2]		
Forward		1024	743	

Cymbeline.

Brt. up		1024	743	
II.	iv.	152		
	v.	35	468	
III.	i.	87		
	ii.	84		
	iii.	107		
	iv.	196		
	v.	168		
	vi.	95		
	vii.	16	753	
IV.	i.	27		
	ii.	403		
	iii.	46		
	iv.	54	530	
V.	i.	33		
	ii.	18		
	iii.	94		
	iv.	215		
	v.	485	845	
		3339	3339	

Hamlet.

I.	i.	175		
	ii.	258		
	iii.	136		
	iv.	91		
	v.	191	851	
II.	i.	119		
	ii.	634	753	
III.	i.	196		
	ii.	417		
	iii.	98		
	iv.	217	928	
IV.	i.	45		
	ii.	33		
	iii.	70		
	iv.	66		
	v.	220[3]		
Forward		2966	2532	

Hamlet.

Brt. up		2966	2532	
IV.	vi.	34		
	vii.	195	663	
V.	i.	322		
	ii.	414	736	
		3931	3931	

1 Henry IV.

I.	i.	108		
	ii.	240[4]		
	iii.	302	650	
II.	i.	106		
	ii.	118		
	iii.	120		
	iv.	602	946	
III.	i.	271		
	ii.	180		
	iii.	230	681	
IV.	i.	136		
	ii.	86		
	iii.	113		
	iv.	41	376	
V.	i.	144		
	ii.	101		
	iii.	65		
	iv.	169		
	v.	44	523	
		3176	3176	

2 Henry IV.

Ind.		40	40	
I.	i.	215		
	ii.	278		
	iii.	110	603	
II.	i.	209		
	ii.	196		
Forward		1048	643	

[1] l. 240 in Gl., p. 108. i, should be 241. [2] l. 30 Gl. should be 29, p. 952. ii.
[3] l. 57 Gl. p. 836. i, is prose, and 2 lines; l. 75-6 Gl. are verse, and 1 line; 200 Gl. p. 837. ii, should be 201. [4] l. 220 Gl. should be 219, p. 384. ii.

2 *Henry IV.*

Brt. up		1048	643
II.	iii.	68	
	iv.	421	894
III.	i.	108	
	ii.	358	466
IV.	i.	228	
	ii.	123	
	iii.	142	
	iv.	132	
	v.	241	866
V.	i.	98	
	ii.	145	
	iii.	147	
	iv.	35	
	v.	115	540
Epilog.		37	37
		3446	3446

Henry V.

Prolog 1.		34	34
I.	i.	98	
	ii.	310	408
Prolog 2.		42	42
II.	i.	133	
	ii.	193	
	iii.	66	
	iv.	146	538
Prolog 3.		35	35
III.	i.	34	
	ii.	153	
	iii.	58	
	iv.	66	
	v.	68	
	vi.	181	
	vii.	169	729
Prolog 4.		53	53
IV.	i.	326	
	ii.	63	
Forward		2228	1839

Henry V.

Brt. up		2228	1839
IV.	iii.	132	
	iv.	82	
	v.	23	
	vi.	38	
	vii.	191	
	viii.	131	986
Prolog 5.		45	45
V.	i.	94	
	ii.	402[1]	496
Epilog		14	14
		3380	3380

1 Henry VI.

I.	i.	177	
	ii.	150	
	iii.	91	
	iv.	111	
	v.	39	
	vi.	31	599
II.	i.	81	
	ii.	60	
	iii.	82	
	iv. (S)	134	
	v.	129	486
III.	i.	201	
	ii.	137	
	iii.	91	
	iv.	45	474
IV.	i.	194	
	ii.	56	
	iii.	53	
	iv.	46	
	v.	55	
	vi.	57	
	vii.	96	557
V.	i.	62	
	ii.	21	
	iii.	195	
	iv.	175	
Forward		2569	2116

1 *Henry VI.*

Brt. up		2569	2116
V.	v.	108	561
		2677	2677

Probably, only 134 Shaksp.'s. Allow 137.

2 Henry VI.

I.	i.	259	
	ii.	107	
	iii.	226	
	iv.	84	676
II.	i.	205	
	ii.	82	
	iii.	108	
	iv.	110	505
III.	i.	383	
	ii.	412	
	iii.	33	828
IV.	i.	147	
	ii.	200	
	iii.	20	
	iv.	60	
	v.	13	
	vi.	18	
	vii.	145	
	viii.	72	
	ix.	49	
	x.	90	814
V.	i.	216	
	ii.	90	
	iii.	33	339
		3162	3162

3 Henry VI.

I.	i.	273	
	ii.	75[2]	
	iii.	52	
	iv.	180	580
Forward		580	580

[1] l. 201 Gl., p. 466. i, is numberd 301. [2] l. 70 in Gl. should be 69, p. 529. ii.

3 *Henry VI.*

Brt. up		580		580
II.	i.	209		
	ii.	177		
	iii.	56		
	iv.	13		
	v.	139		
	vi.	110		704
III.	i.	101		
	ii.	195		
	iii.	265		561
IV.	i.	149		
	ii.	29		
	iii.	64		
	iv.	35		
	v.	29		
	vi.	102		
	vii.	88		
	viii.	65		561
V.	i.	113		
	ii.	50		
	iii.	24		
	iv.	82		
	v.	90		
	vi.	93		
	vii.	46		498
		2904		2904

Henry VIII.

Prolog		32		32
I.	i.	(S) 226		
	ii.	(S) 214		
	iii.	67		
	iv.	108		615
II.	i.	169		
	ii.	144		
	iii.	(S) 107		
	iv.	(S) 241		661
III.	i.	184		
	ii.	(S) 202½		
		257½		644
Forward		1952		1952

Henry VIII.

Brt. up		1952		1952
IV.	i.	117		
	ii.	173		290
V.	i.	(S) 178		
	ii.	35		
	iii.	182		
	iv.	94		
	v.	77		566
Epilog		14		14
		2822		2822

Shakspere, only 1168½ lines.

Julius Cæsar.

I.	i.	80		
	ii.	326		
	iii.	164		570
II.	i.	334		
	ii.	129		
	iii.	16		
	iv.	46		525
III.	i.	297		
	ii.	276		
	iii.	43		616
IV.	i.	51		
	ii.	52		
	iii.	309		412
V.	i.	126		
	ii.	6		
	iii.	110		
	iv.	32		
	v.	81		355
		2478		2478

(King) John.

I.	i.	276		276
II.	i.	598		598
Forward		874		874

(*King*) *John.*

Brt. up		874		874
III.	i.	347		
	ii.	10		
	iii.	73		
	iv.	183		613
IV.	i.	134		
	ii.	269		
	iii.	159		562
V.	i.	79		
	ii.	180		
	iii.	17		
	iv.	61		
	v.	22		
	vi.	44		
	vii.	118		521
		2570		2570

(King) Lear.

I.	i.	312		
	ii.	200		
	iii.	27[1]		
	iv.	371		
	v.	56		966
II.	i.	131		
	ii.	180		
	iii.	21		
	iv.	312		644
III.	i.	55		
	ii.	96		
	iii.	26		
	iv.	189		
	v.	26		
	vi.	122		
	vii.	107		621
IV.	i.	82		
	ii.	98		
	iii.	57		
	iv.	29		
	v.	40		
	vi.	293		
	vii.	98		697
Forward		2928		2928

[1] l. 10, *Lear*, I. iii, Gl. p. 851, col. ii, should be l. 11.

(King) Lear.

Brt. up		2928	2928	
V.	i.	69		
	ii.	11		
	iii.	326	406	
		3334	3334	

Love's Labour's Lost.

I.	i.	318[1]		
	ii.	192	510	
II.	i.	258[2]	258	
III.	i.	207	207	
IV.	i.	151		
	ii.	173		
	iii.	386	710	
V.	i.	162		
	ii.	942	1104	
		2789	2789	

Macbeth.

I.	i.	12		
	ii.	67		
	iii.	156		
	iv.	58		
	v.	74		
	vi.	31		
	vii.	82	480	
II.	i.	64		
	ii.	74		
	iii.	152		
	iv.	41	331	
III.	i.	142		
	ii.	56		
	iii.	22		
Forward		1031	811	

Macbeth..

Brt. up		1031	811	
III.	iv.	144		
	v.	36		
	vi.	49	449	
IV.	i.	156		
	ii.	85		
	iii.	240	481	
V.	i.	87		
	ii.	31		
	iii.	62		
	iv.	21		
	v.	52		
	vi.	10		
	vii.	29		
	viii.	75	367	
		[3]2108	2108	

Measure for Measure.

I.	i.	84		
	ii.	198		
	iii.	54		
	iv.	90	426	
II.	i.	300[4]		
	ii.	187		
	iii.	42		
	iv.	187	716	
III.	i.	281		
	ii.	296	577	
IV.	i.	76		
	ii.	226		
	iii.	190		
	iv.	37		
	v.	13		
	vi.	15	557	
V.	i.	545	545	
		2821	2821	

Merchant of Venice.

I.	i.	186[5]		
	ii.	147		
	iii.	182	515	
II.	i.	46		
	ii.	215		
	iii.	21		
	iv.	40		
	v.	57		
	vi.	68		
	vii.	79		
	viii.	53		
	ix.	101	680	
III.	i.	136		
	ii.	330[6]		
	iii.	36		
	iv.	84		
	v.	96[7]	682	
IV.	i.	457		
	ii.	19	476	
V.	i.	307	307	
		2660	2660	

Merry Wives.

I.	i.	326		
	ii.	13		
	iii.	114		
	iv.	180	633	
II.	i.	248		
	ii.	329		
	iii.	102	679	
III.	i.	129		
	ii.	93		
	iii.	260		
	iv.	115		
	v.	155	752	
Forward		2064	2064	

[1] 'Don Adriano de Armado', p. 137. ii, l. 281 is wrongly not counted as a line.
[2] l. 250 in Globe should be 251.
[3] Or 2105 if I, i. 8-10, p. 788. i, are 1 line, and III. i. 18-19, p. 796. ii, are 1 line.
[4] l. 280 Gl., p. 73. i, should be 290. [5] l. 120 Gl., p. 182. i, should be 121.
[6] l. 280 Gl., p. 195. ii, should be 281. [7] l. 70 Gl., p. 197. i, should be 71.

Merry Wives.

Brt. up		2064	2064
IV.	i.	87	
	ii.	240	
	iii.	14	
	iv.	91[1]	
	v.	131	
	vi.	55	618
V.	i.	32	
	ii.	16	
	iii.	25[2]	
	iv.	4	
	v.	259	336
		3018	3018

Mids. N. Dream.

I.	i.	251	
	ii.	114	365
II.	i.	268	
	ii.	156	424
III.	i.	206	
	ii.	463	669
IV.	i.	225	
	ii.	46	271
V.	i.	445	445
		2174	2174

Much Ado.

I.	i.	330	
	ii.	29	
	iii.	77	436
II.	i.	404[3]	
	ii.	58	
	iii.	273	735
III.	i.	116	
	ii.	137	
Forward		1424	1171

Much Ado.

Brt. up		1424	1171
III.	iii.	193	
	iv.	99	
	v.	69	614
IV.	i.	340	
	ii.	90	430
V.	i.	341	
	ii.	106	
	iii.	33	
	iv.	131	611
		2826	2826

Othello.

I.	i.	184	
	ii.	99	
	iii.	410	693
II.	i.	321	
	ii.	13	
	iii.	394	728
III.	i.	58	
	ii.	6	
	iii.	479	
	iv.	201	744
IV.	i.	293	
	ii.	252	
	iii.	106	651
V.	i.	129	
	ii.	371	500
		3316	3316

Pericles.

Gower 1.		42	42
I.	i.	171	
	ii.	124	
	iii.	40	
	iv.	108	443
Forward		485	485

Pericles.

Brt. up		485	485
Gower 2.		40	40
II.	i.	173[4]	
	ii.	59	
	iii.	116	
	iv.	58	
	v.	93	499
Gower 3.		60	60
III.	i. (S)	82	
	ii. (S)	111	
	iii. (S)	41	
	iv. (S)	18	252
Gower 4.		52	52
IV.	i. (S)	103	
	ii.	163	
	iii. (S)	51	
	iv.	51	
	v.	10	
	vi.	212	590
Gower 5.		24	24
V.	i. (S)	265	
	ii.	20[5]	
	iii. (S)	84[6]	369
Epilog		18	18
		2389	2389

Shakspere, only 755 lines.

Richard II.

I.	i.	205	
	ii.	74	
	iii.	309	
	iv.	65	653
II.	i.	300	
	ii.	149	
Forward		1102	653

[1] p. 61, col. ii : l. 30 Gl. is one too low. [2] The last line, p. 64. ii, Gl., is verse.
[3] l. 391 Gl., p. 117. ii, should be 392. [4] l. 101 Gl., p. 982. ii, should be 102.
[5] Globe, p. 998. i, mislines sc. ii as part of i ; its 270, 280 should be 5, 15.
[6] Gl., p. 999. ii, numbers the Epilog as part of V. iii ; its 91, 100 should be 7, 17.

Richard II.

Brt. up		1102	653	
II.	iii.	171		
	iv.	24	644	
III.	i.	44		
	ii.	218		
	iii.	209		
	iv.	107	578	
IV.	i.	334	334	
V.	i.	102		
	ii.	117		
	iii.	146		
	iv.	11		
	v.	119		
	vi.	52	547	
		2756	2756	

Richard III.

I.	i.	162	
	ii.	264	
	iii.	356	
	iv.	290	1072
II.	i.	140	
	ii.	154	
	iii.	47	
	iv.	73	414
III.	i.	200	
	ii.	124	
	iii.	25	
	iv.	109	
	v.	109	
	vi.	14	
	vii.	247	828
IV.	i.	104	
	ii.	126	
	iii.	57	
	iv.	540	
	v.	20	847
Forward		3161	3161

Richard III.

Brt. up		3161	3161
V.	i.	29	
	ii.	24	
	iii.	351	
	iv.	13	
	v.	41	458
		3619	3619

Romeo and Juliet.

Prolog		14	14
I.	i.	244	
	ii.	106	
	iii.	106	
	iv.	114	
	v.	146	716
Prolog		14	14
II.	i.	42	
	ii.	190	
	iii.	94	
	iv.	233	
	v.	80	
	vi.	37	676
III.	i.	202	
	ii.	143	
	iii.	175	
	iv.	36	
	v.	241[1]	797
IV.	i.	126	
	ii.	47	
	iii.	58	
	iv.	28	
	v.	150	409
V.	i.	86	
	ii.	30	
	iii.	310	426
		3052	3052

Taming of the Shrew.

Ind.	i.	138	
	ii.	147	285
I.	i.	259	
	ii.	282	541
II.	i.	412[2]	412
III.	i.	92	
	ii. (S)	254	346
IV.	i. (S)	214[3]	
	ii.	120	
	iii. (S)	198	
	iv.	109	
	v. (S)	79	720
V.	i.	156	
	ii. (S)	189	345
		2649	2649

Of these 2649, probably only 1310 are Shakspere's.

Tempest.

I.	i.	71	
	ii.	500[4]	571
II.	i.	327	
	ii.	193[5]	520
III.	i.	96	
	ii.	163[6]	
	iii.	109	368
IV.	i.	267	267
V.	i.	318	318
Epilog		20	20
		2064	2064

[1] l. 70 Gl., p. 731. i, should be 69.
[2] l. 250 Gl., p. 238. i, should be 249.
[3] p. 244. ii, Gl., mislines 189 as 199.
[4] l. 380 G., p. 5. ii, should be 379.
[5] l. 160 G., p. 11. i, should be 161.
[6] l. 50 G., p. 12. i, should be 51; l. 156 Gl., p. 13. ii, is prose, 157-8; hence l. 161 Gl. should be 163.

Timon of Athens.

I.	i.	294		
	ii.	257	551	
II.	i.	35		
	ii.	242	277	
III.	i.	66		
	ii.	94		
	iii.	42		
	iv.	119		
	v.	117		
	vi.	130[1]	568	
IV.	i.	41		
	ii.	50		
	iii.	543	634	
V.	i.	231		
	ii.	17		
	iii.	10		
	iv.	85	343	
		2373	2373	

Probably, only ½ Shakspere's.

Titus Andronicus.

I.	i.	495	495	
II.	i.	135		
	ii.	26		
	iii.	306		
	iv.	57	524	
III.	i.	301		
	ii.	85	386	
IV.	i.	129		
	ii.	180		
	iii.	121		
	iv.	113	543	
V.	i.	165		
	ii.	206		
	iii.	204	575	
		2523	2523	

Hardly any Shakspere's. Say 23 ls.

Troilus and Cressida.

Prolog.	(not s.)	31	31	
I.	i.	119		
	ii.	321		
	iii.	392	832	
II.	i.	142		
	ii.	213		
	iii.	277	632	
III.	i.	172		
	ii.	220		
	iii.	316	708	
IV.	i.	79		
	ii.	115		
	iii.	12		
	iv.	150		
	v.	293	649	
V.	i.	106		
	ii.	197		
	iii.	112		
	iv.	38		
	v.	47		
	vi.	31		
	vii.	24		
	viii.	22		
	ix.	10		
	x.	57	644	
		3496	3496	

II. ii. 163 (half) to 167 and Act V, after iii. 28, are not Shakspere's.

Twelfth Night.

I.	i.	41		
	ii.	64		
	iii.	151		
	iv.	42		
	v.	330	628	
Forward		628	628	

Twelfth Night.

Brt. up		628	628	
II.	i.	49		
	ii.	42		
	iii.	208		
	iv.	127		
	v.	227	653	
III.	i.	176		
	ii.	90		
	iii.	48		
	iv.	433	747	
IV.	i.	69		
	ii.	141		
	iii.	35	245	
V.	i.	417	417	
		2690	2690	

Two Gentlemen of Verona.

I.	i.	161		
	ii.	140		
	iii.	91	392	
II.	i.	182		
	ii.	21		
	iii.	65		
	iv.	214		
	v.	63		
	vi.	43		
	vii.	90	678	
III.	i.	397[2]		
	ii.	98	495	
IV.	i.	76		
	ii.	140		
	iii.	47		
	iv.	210	473	
V.	i.	12		
	ii.	56		
	iii.	15		
	iv.	173	256	
		2294	2294	

[1] l. 130 Gl., p. 754. ii, is 129.

[2] Gl. l. 199, p. 32. i, and 203 are prose, and count 2 each; thus line 210 Gl. should be line 212.

Two Noble Kinsmen.

Prolog		32	32
I.	i. (S)	234	
	ii. (S)	116	
	iii. (S)	97	
	iv. (S)	49	
	v. (S)	16	512
II.	i. (S)	62	
	ii.	281	
	iii.	83	
	iv.	33	
	v.	64	
	vi.	39	562
III.	i. (S)	123	
	ii. (S)	38	
	iii.	53	
	iv.	26	
Forward		1346	1106

Two Noble Kinsmen.

Brt. up		1346	1106
III.	v.	162	
	vi.	310	712
IV.	i.	154	
	ii.	156	
	iii.	104	414
V.	i. (S)	173	
	ii.	112	
	iii. (S.F)	146	
	iv. (S.F)	137	568
Epilog.		18	18
		2818	2818

Say, 1068 Shakspere's.

Winter's Tale.

I.	i.	50	
	ii.	465	515
II.	i.	199	
	ii.	66	
	iii.	207	472
III.	i.	22	
	ii.	244	
	iii.	143	409
IV.	i.	32	
	ii.	62	
	iii.	135	
	iv.	874	1103
V.	i.	233	
	ii.	188	
	iii.	155	576
		3075	3075

APPENDIX II.

INVENTORY, A.D. 1674, OF THE GOODS OF SIR JN. BERNARD,

THE HUSBAND OF SHAKSPERE'S GRAND-DAUGHTER.

A true and perfect Inventary of all and Singular the goods and chattles of Sir John Bernard, Knight, late of Northampton, deceased, taken and vallued this 14th day of October 1674, by Robert Ivery, Mathew Scott, and John Symons, as followeth, viz.

Inprimis, wearing apparrell and ready money .	xvj^{li}.
In the Parlour	
Item, tables, Carpetts, Chaires, Cushions, Andirons, with a Couch Chaire . .	viij^{li}. xij^{s}
Item, All the Pictures there	v^{li}. x^{s}
In the Studdy	
Item, desks, Chests, Cabbinetts, Trunkes and boxes	v^{li}. j^{s}. vj^{d}
Item, all the Plate there	xxix^{li}. x^{s}.
Item, in Rings, Jewells, and a watch . .	xxx^{li}. .
Item, All the Bookes	xxix^{li}. xj^{s}.
Item, An Obligacion from W^{m}. Thursby Esq. .	CCCCCCxv^{li}.
Item, a Rent at Stratford vpon Avon . .	iiij^{li}. .
In the Hall	
Item, All the things there	iiij^{li}. xv^{s}.
In the Kitchen	
Item, Pewter, brasse, Iron	xvij^{li}. j^{s}.
Item, a Copper, with a grate vnder it . .	v^{li}.
In the Brewhouse	
Item, All tubbs and wodden vessels . . .	iij^{li}. x^{s}
In the best Chamber	
Item, hangings, chaires, Stooles, and a Couch Chaire	xiiij^{li}.
Item, a Taffety Bedd, with all things to it . .	v^{li}. .
Item, pictures and Andirons	ij^{li}.
In S^{t} John's Chamber	
Item, hangings, Chaires and Stooles . . .	vj^{li}. .
Item, a bedd and Silke quilt	viij^{li}. .
In the Little Chamber	
Item, pictures, hangings, table and a Carpett .	vj^{li}.
Item, a bedd, Chaires & Stooles . . .	x^{li}.

In Mr Kents Chamber	
Item, a Chest of Drawers, Chaires, and Hangings	vli. xvjs
Item, a Bedd, bedd-Curtaines and vallence, at .	vli. vjs. vjd
In the Store Chamber	
Item, old hangings, Chaires, Stooles, and Cushions	vli.
Item, bedding, pillowes, bolsters, Carpetts and blanketts	viijli. .
In the Lynnen Chamber	
Item, All the damaske, diaper, Flaxen and hempen Lynnen	xxxli. .
In the Maides Chamber	
Item, a bedd, with all things to it, a Cupboard and Andirons	vli. xs.
In the mens Chamber	
Item, two bedds, with all things to them . .	ixli. .
In the Sellars	
Item, Throales, hogsheads, white mettall boards and Tubbs	iiijli. xs.
In the Stable	
Item, two Geldings, Saddles & bridles . .	xiiijli.
In the Coach house	
Item, one Coach and harness	xvli. .
Item, a waggon and Geares	vjli. .
Item, Iron beame, scales, Leaden weights, pillion Cloath	ijli. vijs.
In the yard	
Item, wodd, Coales, and Lumber . . .	vli. .
In the Corne Chamber	
Item, Sacks, boards, Iron Crowes and wooden ware	ili. xs.
Item, old goods and Lumber at Stratford vpon Avon, at	iiijli. .
Item, bedding at Knotton in Bedfordshire, at .	iijli. .
Summa Totalis	CMxLviijli. xs.

948. 10. 0.

Edm. Arnold. Exhibitum erat hujusmodi Inventorii septimo Die Mensis Novembris Anno Domini 1674, per Magistrum Edm. Arnold Procuratorem pro Administratricibus, pro vero et Integro Inventorio &c. sub tamen protestacione tamen de addend.' &c, si &c.

RECORD OF *LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION* TO SIR JOHN BERNARD'S GOODS. 1674.

Administration Act book. 1674. November. leaf 158.

Dominus Johannes Bernard, Miles Cotton, vxori Samuelis Cotton, filiabus *natural*ibus et *legi*timis, et Henrico Gilbert, *Armigero*, genero Domini Johannis Bernard, nuper de villa et comitatu Northtoniæ, militis, defuncti, *habentis* &c Ad administrandum bona jura et credita dicti defuncti de bene &c Vigore Commissionis Jurat*is*. } Septimo die em*anavit* comissio Mariæ Higgs, vid*uæ*, Elianoræ } Vlt. Aprilis Inv*entorium* ex*hibitum* x Sheldon } vlt. Octobris 1675

In my 'Introduction to the Leopold Shakspere' in 1874 I noted that the Inventory of Shakspere's Goods and Chattels which his Executors exhibited at the Court of Probate after his death, ought to be in one of the score of boxes of Inventories then at Doctors' Commons, but afterwards moovd to Somerset House. Till the Spring of 1881 I couldn't find time to search these Boxes; but then Sir James Hannen kindly gave me leave to watch them being tested by Mr. Challener Smith, the able and most patient Superintendent of the Department for Literary Enquiry at the Royal Court of Probate in Somerset House. Accordingly, box after box was brought up, and tested by Mr. Smith in my presence, he diving into all parts of each box, and unrolling, and showing me, every Inventory he pickt out. The mess he got into, and his unfailing patience and cheeriness thru this dirty job, can be better imagined than described. The result was, that not one Inventory of 1600-1660 turnd up. About 3 per cent. before 1600, and about 97 per cent. for 1661-1710, we saw, but nothing near Shakspere did we find, except the foregoing Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Sir John Bernard, who married Shakspere's only Grand-child, as his second wife, and outlivd her. The "Rent at Stratford vpon Avon" worth 4£, and the "old goods and Lumber at Stratford vpon Avon" valued at another 4£, perhaps represent some of Shakspere's property; and I hope a copy of the 1623 Folio and some of the Quartos of his Plays and Poems were among "All the Bookes," set at 29£ 11*s*.

While Mr. Challener Smith could not attend to me, I copied the volume of *Earliest English Wills*, edited by me for the Early English Text Society, 1882, which is dedicated to Mr. Smith in acknowledgment of his most kind help to me. His intimate knowledge of the Registers under his charge, and all subjects relating to their contents, is equalled only by the courtesy with which he places that knowledge at the service of all enquirers.

PEDIGREE OF SHAKSPERE'S GRAND-DAUGHTER AND HER HUSBAND'S CHILDREN.

FROM

BAKER'S *NORTHAMPTONSHIRE*, i. 10.

JOHN HALL M.D. born 1575, mar. June 1607, ob. 25 Nov. 1635, æt. 60, bur. at Stratford, co. Warw. = SUSANNA, daugh. and coh. of THE IMMORTAL Shakspeare, bap. 26 May, 1583, ob. 11 July 1649, bur. at Stratford, co. Warw.

1. ELIZABETH dau. of sir Clement Edmondes, of Preston Deanry, bur. 30 Mar. 1642* = SIR JOHN BERNARD, of Abington, knt. son and heir, æt. 6. *Esc.* 8 *Jac.* sold Abington, 4 Dec. 1669 bur. 6 Mar. 1673-4 = ELIZABETH, d. and h. bap. 21 Feb. 1607-8, m. at Billesley, co. Warw. 5 Jun. 1649,* bur. 17 Feb. 1669-70. s. p. = 1. h. THOMAS NASH, of Wilcombe, co. Warw. esq. bap. 20 June 1593 m. 22 Apr. 1626, ob. 4 Apr. 1647

- *William Bernard*, bur.* 30 Mar. 1637
- *John Bernard*, bur. 18 Jan. 1644
- *Charles Bernard*, bap.* 8 Feb. 1637, bur. 5 June 1639
- *Charles Bernard*, bap.* 7 May, 1640, bur.* 25 May, 1651
- Elizabeth dau. & coh. mar.* 18 Feb., 1657-8 = Henry *Gilbert* of Lock, co. Derby. esq.
  - *Bernard Gilbert*, bap.* at Lock, 1 Jan. 1658, bur. 10 Oct. 1673.
- *Mary* d. and coh. m. 7 July, 1657, *Thomas Higgs*, of Colesbourne co. Glouc. esq.
- *Eleanor*, d. and coh. m.* 8 Sept. 1659, Sam. Cotton of Henwick, co. . . . . esq.
- CATHERINE, bap.* 9 Mar. 1641, bur. 13 Mar. 1641.

APPENDIX III.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PROCLAMATION AS TO LICENSES FOR INTERLUDES, AND THEIR NOT TOUCHING RELIGION OR POLITICS.

¶ By the Quene [A.D. 1559].

FOrasmuche as the tyme wherein common Interludes in the Englishe tongue are wont vsually to be played, is now past vntyll AllHallontyde, and that also some that haue ben of late vsed, are not conuenient in any good ordred Christian Common weale to be suffred. The Quenes Maiestie doth straightly forbyd all maner Interludes to be playde eyther openly or priuately, except the same be notified before hande, and licenced within any Citie or towne corporate, by the Maior or other chiefe officers of the same, and within any shyre, by suche as shalbe Lieuetenauntes for the Quenes Maiestie in the same shyre, or by two of the Justices of peax inhabyting within that part of the shire where any shalbe played.

AND for instruction to euery of the sayde officers, her maiestie doth likewise charge euery of them, as they will aunswere: that they permyt none to be played wherin either matters of religion or of the gouernaunce of the estate of the common weale shalbe handled or treated, beyng no meete matters to be wrytten or treated vpon, but by menne of aucthoritie, learning and wisedome, nor to be handled before any audience, but of graue and discrete persons: All which partes of this proclamation, her maiestie chargeth to be inuiolably kepte. And if anye shal attempt to the contrary: her maiestie giueth all maner of officers that haue authoritie to see common peax kepte in commaundement, to arrest and enprison the parties so offendinge, for the space of fourtene dayes or more, as cause shal nede: And furder also vntill good assuraunce may be founde and gyuen, that they shalbe of good behauiour, and no more to offende in the likes.

AND further her maiestie gyueth speciall charge to her nobilitie and gentilmen, as they professe to obey and regarde her maiestie, to take good order in thys behalfe wyth their seruauntes being players, that this her maiesties commaundement may be dulye kepte and obeyed.

Yeuen at our Palayce of Westminster the .xvi. daye of Maye, the first yeare of oure Raygne.

¶ Imprinted at London in Paules churcheyarde by
Rychard Iugge and Iohn Cawood Printers
to the Quenes Maiestie.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

A.D. 1605-6. 3° Jac. I. c. 21. (*Statutes.* Record Office, ed. 1829, p. 1097.)

Chapter XXI.

AN ACTE to restraine Abuses of Players.

Penalty on Stage Players profanely using the Holy Name, £10.

FOR the preventing and avoyding of the greate Abuse of the Holy Name of God in Stageplayes Interludes Maygames Shewes and such like; Be it enacted by our Soveraigne Lorde the Kinges Majesty, and by the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, That if at any tyme or tymes, after the end of this present Session of Parliament, any person or persons doe or shall in any Stage play Interlude Shewe Maygame or Pageant jestingly or prophanely speake or use the holy Name of God or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghoste or of the Trinitie, which are not to be spoken but with feare and reverence, shall forfeite for everie such Offence by hym or them committed Tenne Pounde, the one Moytie thereof to the Kinges Majestie his Heires and Successors, the other Moytie thereof to hym or them that will sue for the same in any Courte of Recorde at Westminster, wherein no Essoigne Protection or Wager of Lawe shalbe allowed.

[The next Act helps to show the state of London at the time, and so I quote its preamble:

A.D. 1605-6. 3 James I, Chapter XXII.

AN ACTE for paving of Drury Lane and the Towne of S^{t} Giles in the Fieldes within the County of Middlesex.

WHEREAS the Towne of S^{t} Giles in the Fieldes, and that part thereof which leadeth to Holborne, and the Lane called Drury Lane, leading from S^{t} Giles in the Fieldes towards the Strond, and towardes Newe Inne, is of late yeeres by occasion of the continuall Rode there, and often Cariages, become deepe, foule, and dangerous, to all that passe those Wayes: Be it enacted," &c.

I was surprizd to find too that even in 1623-4, the Thames was not navigable for Barges, Boats or Lighters, for the last 6 or 7 miles between London and Oxford, namely from "the Village of Bercott" to Oxford, and that the Act of 21 James I, chap. 32, was then passt to make this bit of the river navigable, clear the trees, wears, &c. out of the way, and let men and horses tow up the bank.]

APPENDIX IV.

New Shakspere Society.

MUSICAL EVENING, MAY 11TH, 1883.

A SELECTION OF

Shakspere Madrigals, Glees & Songs,

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,

TO BE SUNG AT THE SOCIETY'S MEETING

ON FRIDAY, MAY 11TH, AT 8 p.m.,

IN THE BOTANY THEATRE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER STREET,

(BY PERMISSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE COLLEGE)

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

MR. J. GREENHILL.

THE COMMITTEE of the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY, having found that the Musical Evening of the Browning Society in June 1882 gave great pleasure to its Members, rezolvd to try a *SHAKSPERE MUSICAL EVENING* in May 1883, instead of the usual reading and discussion of a Paper on some Shakspere topic. Mr J. Greenhill was good enough to take on himself the whole arrangement and direction of the Music, and has drawn up the following Program, with short notices of the Composers from Grove's *Dictionary of Music* and other authorities. The Committee trust that the Members of the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY and their friends will enjoy the evening's entertainment which Mr Greenhill has so kindly provided for them.

This Program will admit the Bearer and two friends. Members wishing for more Admissions must write to the Hon. Sec., K. Grahame, Esq., 24, Bloomsbury St., Bedford Square, London, W.C.

1st PERIOD: A.D. 1597 TO SHAKSPERE'S DEATH, A.D. 1616.

1. Madrigal...'My flocks feed not.' *Pass. Pilgrim*, xvi.

Publisht in 1597 by Thos. Weelkes (time of birth and decease unknown). In 1600 he was organist of Winchester College; in 1608 organist of Chichester Cathedral. He composed five sets of madrigals between 1597 and 1608, three of which, published 1597, were furnished by sec. xvi. of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, which Shakspere did not write, tho' it was printed as his. The first of these begins the Program.

The bright days of the madrigal-writers of Old England were at this time passing rapidly away. The accession of James I. in 1603 threw a cloud over the career of the English musician, which increased through the succeeding reigns; nor was it dispelled till the style of English music had taken another turn, and the madrigal was no longer remembered.

2. Song...'O Mistress mine.' *Twelfth Night*, II. iii.

Composer unknown. Dates back as far as 1599.

3. Harmonized Ayre...'Where the bee sucks.'

Tempest, V. i.

By Robt. Johnson[1] (composed 1612); arranged for three voices by Dr John Wilson (born 1597, died 1673).

Robert Johnson, in 1573-4, was a retainer in the household of Sir Thos. Kytson of Hengrave Hall, Suffolk. He subsequently came to London, and became a composer for the theatres. In 1611 he was in the service of Prince Henry (James I.'s eldest son), at an annual salary of £40. In 1612 he composed music for *The Tempest*, of which we take "Where the bee sucks," afterwards arranged for three voices by Dr John Wilson.

At this time part-music was frequently printed on one sheet in such a manner, that when three, four, or five singers sat round a table, the music-sheet would present to the eyes of each vocalist his or her own part. A specimen of a five-part piece is given on the opposite page.

Dr Wilson's three-voice arrangement of "Where the bee sucks," by Robt. Johnson, is printed in this way, and we will endeavour to sing it as it would have been sung in a drawing-room in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

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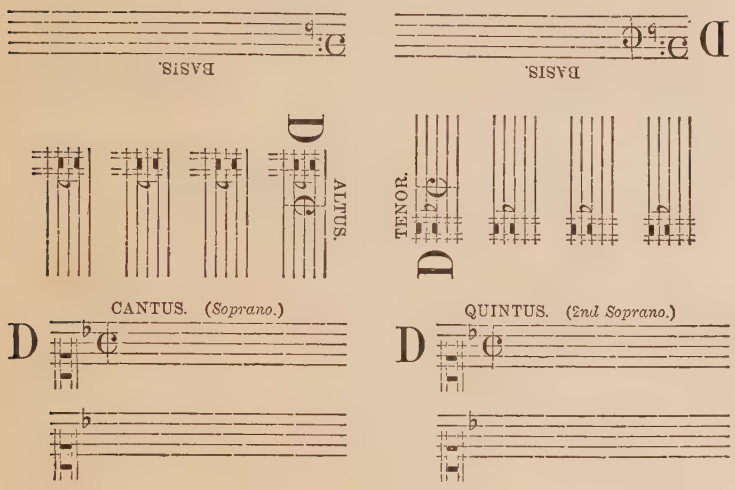
[1] Dr Burney infers that Dr Wilson was the composer, but it is pretty clearly proved that the melody was composed by Robt. Johnson in Shakspere's time, and afterwards arranged for three voices by Dr Wilson.



2ND PERIOD: FROM 1650 to 1750.

4. ROUND: 4 Basses... 'What shall he have that kill'd the Deer?' *As You Like It*, IV. ii.

By JOHN HILTON, Mus. Bac. (pub. 1652), died 1657.

This is thought to be the earliest setting of the words. It is from a curious and rare work entitled *Catch that catch can*, a choice collection of catches, rounds, &c. collected and published by Jno. Hilton, 1652. The piece is a round for the singular combination of four basses.

Jn. Hilton first appears as a composer in 1601. He graduated at Cambridge in 1626. In 1628 he was elected Organist and Parish Clerk of St. Margaret's, Westminster, where he was buried in 1657.

5. SOLOS with CHORUSES. 'Come unto these yellow sands.' 'Full fathom five.' *Tempest*, I. ii.

By HENRY PURCELL, born 1658, died 1695.

This greatest and most original of English composers was (when about six years old) a chorister of the Chapel Royal, and is said to have written anthems while yet a chorister. In 1675, when seventeen, he composed the opera of "Dido and Æneas." In 1676 wrote music for Dryden's tragedy *Aurenge-Zebe*, and other dramatic music.

In 1678 he wrote the Overture, Instrumental music, and the masque in Shadwell's alteration of Shakspere's *Timon of Athens*, a beautiful and characteristic composition.

In 1680 he produced the first of his numerous Odes: "An Ode or Welcome Song for H.R.H. the Duke of York." The same year he became organist of Westminster Abbey, and for six years gave up connection with theatres. In this interval it may be presumed that much of his Church music was composed.

In 1682 he became organist of the Chapel Royal.

In 1683 he came forward in a new capacity, namely, as a composer of instrumental chamber music, by the publication of Sonatas in three parts, two violins and bass to the Organ or Harpsichord (twelve in number). For the coronation of James, (1685,) he produced two anthems, "I was glad," and "My heart is inditing."

In 1686 he returned to dramatic composition, and in 1688 wrote the songs for D'Urfey's comedy, *A Fool's Preferment*, (with one exception for the character of Lionel,) which were sung by W. Mountford. (This actor was murdered in the street by the ruffians Lord Mohun and Captain Hill, in revenge for his having frustrated their attempted forcible abduction of the celebrated actress Mrs Bracegirdle, who, Colley Cibber says, "sung a clear counter-tenor, and had a melodious warbling throat.")

In 1690 Purcell composed new music for Shadwell's version of *The Tempest*. Two of the settings have retained uninterrupted possession of the stage from his time till this day, namely, those to "Full fathom five," and "Come unto these yellow sands."

In an opera composed this year ("The Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian") Purcell made a great advance, calling into play larger orchestral resources than before. This opera was published in 1691, and in the dedication of it he says, "Musick and Poetry have ever been acknowledged sisters, and, walking hand in hand, support each other. As Poetry is the harmony of words, so Musick is that of notes; and as Poetry is a rise above Prose and Oratory, so is Music the exaltation of Poetry. Both may excel apart, but are most excellent when joined, for then they appear like wit and beauty in the same person. Poetry and Painting have arrived to perfection in our own country; Musick is still in its nonage, a forward child which gives hope of what it may be in England when the master of it shall find more encouragement.

"Being further from the sun, we are of later growth than our neighbour countries, and must be content to shake off our barbarity by degrees."

In 1691 Purcell wrote the music to "King Arthur" (amongst many others), and in 1692 to "The Fairy Queen" (an anonymous adaptation of Shakspere's *Midsummer Night's Dream*), and Sir Chas. Sedley's "Ode for the Queen's birthday": one of the airs in this last, viz. "May her blest example chase," has for its bass the air of the old song "Cold and Raw." The reason for this was, that Arabella Hunt and Gosling were once singing to Queen Mary, with Purcell as accompanyist. After hearing several compositions by Purcell and others, the Queen asked Arabella Hunt to sing "Cold and raw." Purcell, nettled at finding a common ballad preferred to his music, determined that the Queen should hear it again when she least expected it, and he adopted this ingenious method of effecting his object.

In 1694 he composed the music to Parts I. and II. of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote*, and (amongst many other compositions) his celebrated, "Te Deum and Jubilate in D.," with orchestral accompaniments, which was the first of its kind produced in this country. Immediately after

Queen Mary's death he composed for her funeral an anthem on the words in the Burial Service, "Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts," in a manner so solemn, pathetic, and devout, that Croft, when resetting the Burial Service, abstained from touching this passage, and adopted Purcell's setting.

In 1695 Purcell composed songs for Part III. of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote*, and among them is contained the last song he set, viz. "From rosy bowers," one of the greatest compositions he ever produced, showing that his mental powers remained vigorous and unimpaired to the last. Purcell died at his house in Dean's Yard, Westminster, on Nov. 21, 1695.

6. Solos & Chorus... 'Now the hungry Lion roars.'

Midsummer Night's Dream, V. ii.

By Richd. Leveridge, born 1670, died 1758 (pub. 1727).

He was a famous bass vocalist of his time. His voice remained unimpaired so long, that in 1730, when sixty years old, he offered for a wager of one hundred guineas to sing a bass song with any man in England. He composed many things, two of which are well known to this day, viz. "Black-eyed Susan," and "The roast beef of Old England." His setting of Puck's speech was published in 1727. The plan of it is, solo for 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c., up to the 8th Fairy, with a chorus to finish, commencing "Hand in hand." Leveridge has made some occasional alterations in the words.

7. Song... 'Come, thou monarch of the Vine.'

Antony and Cleopatra, II. vii.

By Thos. Chilcot of Bath, died 1797.

He was organist of the Abbey Church, Bath, from 1733 till late in last century, and was the first master of Thos. Linley the composer.

The date of Chilcot's "Come, thou monarch" must be about 1750. His music is only to the first four lines, omitting "Cup us, till the world goes round." This song has been reprinted in Caulfield's collection, without the composer's name; and in a later edition Purcell's name was put in as the composer.[1]

8. Song... 'No more dams I'll make for fish.' *Tempest*, II. ii.

By John Christopher Smith, born 1712, died 1795.

He was the friend of Handel. He composed two Shaksperian Operas, "The Tempest," and "The Fairies" (which is the *Midsummer Night's Dream* altered).

The compositions of Chris. Smith and Purcell have sometimes been confused: for instance, in an arrangement by Loder of Smith's "Full fathom five," Purcell's chorus has been added without any intimation as to the real authorship; while Smith's "No more dams," &c. has been twice reprinted with the name of Purcell attached to it. Dr Clarke in his *Beauties of Purcell* has made this mistake.

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[1] In the different collections are many mistakes: for instance, in Caulfield, Dr Cooke's well-known "Hark, the lark" is put down as composed by Stevens.

9. Songs...'Where the bee sucks.' *Tempest*, V. i.

1. By Chris. Smith, born 1712, died 1795.

2. By Dr Arne, born 1710, died 1778. (Arne's composition, 1746.)

Here are, side by side, two settings of the same words. Dr Arne's is of course universally known, as it remains a popular song to the present day. Christopher Smith's setting has two movements, the second of which reminds one forcibly of Dr Arne's; so much so that one must have heard the other's before setting his own. Was Arne the plagiarist?

Dr Thos. Augustine Arne was intended by his father for the profession of the law, and on leaving Eton College was placed in a solicitor's office for three years. But his love for music predominated, and instead of applying himself to the study of the law, he privately conveyed a spinet to his bed-room, and by muffling the strings with a handkerchief, contrived to practise during the night undetected.

He took lessons on the violin from Festing, and would occasionally borrow a livery in order to gain admission to the servants' gallery at the opera. He made such progress on the violin as to be able to lead a chamber band at the house of an amateur, who gave private concerts. There he was accidentally discovered by his father playing first violin. After fruitless efforts to induce his son to devote himself to the legal profession, the father gave up the attempt. Being free to practise openly, Arne soon, by his skill on the violin, charmed the whole family.

In 1738 he established his reputation as a lyric composer by the admirable manner in which he set Milton's *Comus*. In this he introduced a light, airy, original, and pleasing melody, wholly different from that of Purcell or Handel, whom all English composers had hitherto either pillaged or imitated. Indeed the melody of Arne at this time, and of his Vauxhall songs afterwards, forms an era in English music; it was so easy, natural, and agreeable to the whole kingdom, that it had an effect upon our national taste; and till a more modern Italian style was introduced in the *pasticcio* English operas of Bickerstaff and Cumberland, Arne's was the standard of all perfection at our theatres and public gardens. (See Burney's *History*, vol. iv. p. 659, &c, &c.)

On July 6, 1759, the University of Oxford created Arne 'Doctor of Music.'

Dr Arne was the first who introduced female voices into oratorio choruses. This he did at Covent Garden Theatre, Feb. 26, 1773, in a performance of his own, *Judith*.

3rd PERIOD: 1750 to 1800.

10. Glee... 'It was a lover and his lass.'

As You Like It, V. iii.

By J. S. Stevens, born ab. 1753, died 1837.

We have now arrived at the period of the form of composition known as the *Glee*. Mr Hullah says (Grove's *Dict. of Music*) that a Glee is a

piece of unaccompanied vocal music, in at least three parts, and for solo voices, usually those of men. Though possibly suggested by the Madrigal, to which this description also applies, the Glee is separated from it, so far as its origin is concerned, by a long interval of time. The production of the Madrigal ceased altogether, both on the Continent and in England, in the course of the first quarter of the 17th century.

The first Glees are due to the beginning of the 18th century, and the finest specimens of them to the seventy-five years between 1750 and 1825. The Glee differs from the Madrigal in its *tonality*, which is uniformly modern. Not only so. Whereas the 'subjects' of the Madrigal are generally few, always contrapuntally treated, and this often at considerable length, those of the Glee are generally many, and rarely at all developed. Masses of harmony, rare in the Madrigal, are common in the Glee, and indeed give it some of its best effects. The characteristic figure of modern tonality, the 'perfect cadence,' rarely and timidly introduced in the Madrigal, is of frequent occurrence in the Glee; so much so as to give many of these compositions a disconnected character, as though continually about to end.

Indeed the short phrases, incessant cadences, frequent changes of rhythm and pace of the average Glee, contrast unfavourably with the 'long resounding' phrases of the Madrigal, never brought to an end in one part till they are begun in another, overlapping one another, bearing one another up, and never allowing the hearer to anticipate a close, till everything that can be done with every subject has been done, and the movement comes to a natural end.

The Glee proper is wholly independent of instrumental accompaniment. The name, however, is occasionally given to compositions like "The Chough and Crow," by Sir Henry Bishop. These would be better entitled "Accompanied trios, quartets, or choruses."

The earliest, possibly the greatest, master of the Glee proper is Samuel Webbe, who gained twenty-seven prizes for his compositions. During his life the best specimens of this class of composition were produced. Webbe actually outlived many of the most eminent practitioners in the school of which he was the founder.

The other principal Glee composers were Stevens, Callcott, Horsley, Attwood, Battishill, Cooke, Danby, Hindle, Lord Mornington, Paxton, and Spofforth, and Stafford Smith.

We have chosen as illustrations of Glees, "It was a lover and his lass," by J. S. Stevens, which is for five voices, but well adapted for a five-part chorus, in which way we will sing it; and "What shall he have that killed the deer?" by Stafford Smith (p. 27†).

Richard James Samuel Stevens was born in London about 1753, and died in 1837. He was a composer of numerous glees, many of which display the most brilliant genius. He was educated in St Paul's Cathedral. His first appointment was as organist to the Temple Church. In 1795 he became organist of the Charter House, and in 1801 was elected Professor of Music at Gresham College. His glees speedily and deservedly obtained the stamp of public approbation, which they will never lose so long as vocal harmony shall be admired.—*Eng. Cyclopædia*, vol. v. p. 718.

11. Duet... 'Crabbed Age and Youth.'

Passionate Pilgrim, X. (by Marlow).

By Giuseppi Giordani, born about 1753, died 1794.

Giordani was a composer and teacher to whom many of our English musicians owe their musical education. His best-known opera was "Il Baccio," and Fetis gives him a list of six pianoforte quintets, three quartets, and twelve trios; six string quartets, and three concertos for violin and orchestra, besides preludes, sonatas, &c. An air by him or his brother Tomasso, "Caro mio ben," is much sung to this day.

12. Canzonet... 'She never told her love.'

Twelfth Night, II. iv.

By Joseph Haydn, born 1732, died 1809.

It is one of a set of six, dedicated to Lady Charlotte Bertie, and composed in 1795.

Franz Joseph Haydn, the father of the Symphony and the Quartet, was born in 1732 at Rohrau, a small Austrian village. His parents both sang, and the child soon began to sing their simple songs. Having seen the schoolmaster play the violin, he would, with two pieces of wood as his instrument, accompany his parents as they sang, keeping strict time, precisely imitating the schoolmaster's handling of the bow. At six years old he was one day surprised when thus engaged by his relation Frankh, who persuaded the parents to commit the boy to his care.

At the end of two years Haydn went as a chorister to Vienna. There he could only remember having two lessons in harmony from Von Reutter; but the instinct for composition made him cover every blank sheet of music-paper he could get. "It must be all right if the paper was nice and full."

In 1745 his voice began to break, and Von Reutter soon got rid of him. But Spancler, a chorister of St Michael's, offered him shelter; a few pupils presented themselves, and a good Viennese lent him 150 florins, which enabled him to rent an attic. Here he studied composition, and made acquaintance with Emmanuel Bach, who more than any other master became his model.

In 1759 he was appointed Music-director and Kammer-compositor to the Bohemian Count Ferdinand Maximilian Morzon.

In 1760 Haydn contracted an unfortunate marriage with a heartless, quarrelsome, extravagant, and bigoted woman, who, as her husband said, cared not whether he was an artist or a shoemaker.

Count Morzon being compelled to dismiss his band and director, Prince Paul Anton Esterhazy secured Haydn as his second Capellmeister under Werner.

In 1762 Anton Paul died, and was succeeded by his brother Nicholas.

In 1766 Werner died, and Haydn became sole Capellmeister. Soon after Werner's death the Prince turned an old hunting place into a splendid summer residence, and called it Esterhazy. Here Haydn composed nearly all his works, and among them his famous "Farewell" symphony. His

object was to persuade the Prince to leave Esterhazy, and so enable the musicians to join their wives and families. As one after another stopped playing, and left the orchestra, until only two were left, the hint was unmistakable. "If all go," said the Prince, "we may as well go too;" and Haydn knew that his object was attained.

In 1785 Fritz and Edmund von Weber became pupils of Haydn.

In 1787 Bland, the London music publisher, tried to get Haydn to come to London. When Bland entered, Haydn was shaving and grumbling over the bluntness of his razor: "I would give my best quartet for a good razor." Bland fetched his own pair, and received in exchange Haydn's newest quartet, which is often called "the Razor Quartet."

On New Year's day 1791 Haydn came to London, where he was soon the object of every species of attention.

The culminating point of his reputation (not attained till he had reached old age) was the composition of the "Creation" and the "Seasons." Of the "Creation" he says: "Never was I so pious. I knelt down every day, and prayed God to strengthen me in my work." This oratorio was first performed publicly in 1799, and produced an extraordinary impression.

Immediately after he composed the "Seasons." It was with reluctance that he began it, for he knew his powers were failing, and the strain was too great. As he said afterwards, "The 'Seasons' gave me the finishing stroke." He composed very little after this.

After a long seclusion, he appeared in public for the last time at a remarkable performance of the "Creation" at the University of Vienna, on March 27, 1808. He was carried in his arm-chair to a place among the first ladies of the land. At the words, "And there was light," Haydn was quite overcome, and pointing upwards, exclaimed, "It came from thence!" As the performance went on, his agitation became extreme, and it was thought better to take him home after the first part.

On May 26, 1809, he called his servants round him for the last time, and having been carried to the piano, solemnly played "the Emperor's Hymn" three times over. Five days afterwards he expired.

13. Glee...'What shall he have that kill'd the deer?'

As You Like It, IV. ii.

By J. Stafford Smith, born about 1750, at Gloucester. His father was organist of Gloucester Cathedral; he was a chorister at the Chapel Royal, and afterwards one of the organists. He published a "Collection of Songs," in 1785, and "Musica Antiqua," a selection of music from the 12th to the 18th-century, 2 vols. folio, 1812. Our hearers will compare this 18th-century setting with Hilton's 17th-century round, number 4 of this evening's performance, p. 21† above.

In his Glee to Shakspere's words Smith has omitted the line, "Then sing him home," whether by accident or design is not known. Charles Knight, in his "Shakspere," suggests that this line may be a direction for a stage procession.

4TH PERIOD: 1800 TO ABOUT 1825.

14. DUET ... 'Tell me where is fancy bred.'

Merchant of Venice, III. ii.

By SIR JOHN STEVENSON, born 1759, died 1833. (Rose's *Dic.*)

Sir John Stevenson, Mus. Doc., received his earliest instruction in the Cathedral of Dublin. He composed music for some of O'Keeffe's farces, also some operas for the Irish stage. His most popular work is the arrangement of Thomas Moore's "Irish Melodies" (Rose's *Dic.*, vol. xii. p. 123). He had a fine bass voice.

In 1783 he became Vicar Choral of St Patrick's, Dublin.

The honorary degree of Mus. Doc. was conferred on him by the University of Dublin, in compliment to his professional fame, and he was knighted in 1802.—*Gentleman's Mag.*, vol. ciii. pt. 2, p. 542.

15. SONG...'E'en as the sun.' *Venus and Adonis*, ver. 1.

By CHARLES ED. HORN, born 1786, died 1849.

Horn was a vocalist. His voice was poor, but of such extensive register that he was able to take baritone as well as tenor parts. He also displayed considerable histrionic ability. He composed many small operas, of which some of the songs remain popular to the present time; as, for instance, "Cherry ripe!" "I've been roaming," and "Thro' the wood;" also the duet "I know a bank."

16. SONG...'Make me a willow cabin.' *Twelfth Night*, I. v.

By JOHN BRAHAM, born 1774, died 1856.

Born in London of Jewish parents, he was left an orphan at an early age, and in such poor circumstances that he is said to have sold pencils about the streets. At thirteen years old he made his first appearance at Covent Garden Theatre, singing "The soldier, tired of war's alarms," by Dr. Arne.

About 1798 he went to Italy to complete his studies, and reappeared at Covent Garden in 1801. From this point may be dated that triumphant career, the effect of which has hardly yet passed away.

In the operas he appeared-in he was generally the composer of all the music of his own part, and seldom has music been more universally popular. It is said that in theatre, concert-room, or church he had scarcely a rival. His compass extended to about nineteen notes. Many of his compositions attained the highest popularity, as, "The Death of Nelson," "The Anchor 's weighed," and "All 's Well."

The speech of Viola, "Make me a willow cabin," was sung by the composer in an operatized version of *The Taming of the Shrew*, in which he personated Hortensio. There are a few slight changes of Shakspere's words in the setting.

17. CHORUS...'Come, thou Monarch of the Vine.'

Anthony and Cleopatra, II. vii.

By SIR H. BISHOP, born 1786, died 1855.

He had great talent for dramatic composition, and wrote his first (performed at Margate) when he was eighteen years old. He became Bachelor of Music in 1839, and was knighted in 1842.

It may safely be said that Bishop has written more compositions to Shakspere's words than any other composer before him or since. "Come, thou monarch," was, I believe, set for introduction into the operatized performance of *Comedy of Errors*, as a chorus for three male voices, but was afterwards (1862) arranged by J. L. Hatton for four voices, S., C., T. and B., in which form it will now be sung.

18. SONG ... 'Now the hungry lion roars.'

Midsummer Night's Dream, V. ii.

By WM. LINLEY, born 1767, died 1835.

Linley was educated at St Paul's and Harrow. He edited a work entitled "Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs," 1815-16, in which are several compositions of his own. From these we select "Now the hungry lion roars."

19. SONG...'Bid me discourse.' *Venus and Adonis*, ver. 25.

By SIR H. BISHOP.

This is one of Bishop's best-known and justly most popular compositions. It was originally sung by Miss M. Tree as Viola in *Twelfth Night*, about 1820.

20. SONG...'Come, thou Monarch of the Vine.'

Anthony and Cleopatra, II. vii.

21. SONG...'Who is Sylvia.' *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. ii.

By FRANZ PETER SCHUBERT, born 1797, died 1828.

'The one great composer native to Vienna—whose Songs, regarded as a department of music, are absolutely his own, full of dramatic fire, poetry, and pathos, with accompaniments of the utmost force, fitness, and variety'—was born on Jan. 31, 1797. His Life has been admirably written in Grove's *Dict.* iii. 319—382, and to that the reader is referred for all details. (See also Frost's Life of him, 1881.) Schubert lived in great poverty. "It is all but impossible to place oneself in the forlorn condition in which he must have resigned himself to his departure, and to realise the darkness of the valley of the shadow of death through which his simple, sincere guileless soul passed to its last rest, and to the joyful resurrection and glorious renown which have since attended it." His works number 1131. He was 'a short, stout, clumsy man, of 5ft. 1, a born bourgeois, never really at his ease except among his equals and chosen associates.' Truthful, good-humoured, cheerful, fond of a joke, and modest, he was loved by his friends even more than he was admired.

No. 21 of the Songs above is assigned to Schubert in the *Shakspere Album* (1862, 1864). The second is sung to-night by desire of Sir George Grove.

5TH PERIOD: 1825 TO 1883.

22. DUET AND CHORUS...'You spotted snakes.'
Midsummer Night's Dream, II. iii.

By MENDELSSOHN (born 1809, died 1847), composed in 1841.

All M.'s previous efforts were surpassed by the overture to *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in 1826, the year in which he and his sister read Shakspere's works for the first time (Schlegel and Tieck's version). No one piece that had ever been written before contains so many points of harmony and orchestration. Not the least singular thing about this Overture is the exact manner in which it was found to fit into the music for the whole play, when that music was composed seventeen years later. The *leit motif*, or leading theme, was invented by Mendelssohn, and first appeared in the part of Don Quixote in *Camacho*, an opera which, owing to various circumstances, was performed but once, in 1827.

In the winter of 1827-28 M. formed a select choir of sixteen voices and began to practise Bach's *Passion*, and on Wednesday, March 11, 1829, the song *academie* of Berlin (390 to 400), under his conductorship, gave the first performance of the work since the death of Bach.

Mendelssohn's first appearance in England was at the Philharmonic Concert (then held in the Argyle Rooms, at the upper end of Regent St) on May 25, 1829. For English audiences he wrote his oratorio of "Elijah."

His part-songs gave to the majority of English amateurs a sudden and delightful introduction to a class of music which, though long known to Germans, till about 1840 was almost entirely unknown in England. He died on Nov. 4, 1847.

23. SONG...'Sigh no more, ladies.' *Much Ado*, II. iii.

24. DUET...'Riches, Honour.' *Tempest*, IV. i.

By SIR ARTHUR S. SULLIVAN.

In 1856 the first Mendelssohn scholar was elected, Arthur S. Sullivan (now Sir Arthur S. Sullivan), who in 1865 set several songs, &c., to Shakspere's words, of which "Sigh no more, ladies," is one. The Duet is from Sir Arthur S. Sullivan's music to "The Tempest," which contains also songs "Where the bee sucks" and "Full fathom five," and some good instrumental music. "Riches, Honour" is included in our Program on Sir George Grove's recommendation.

25. SONG...'Take, oh take those lips away.' *Meas. for Meas.* IV. i.

By JAMES GREENHILL, composed expressly for this occasion.

26. SONG...'Lawn as white as driven snow.'
By CARL NESTOR. *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii.

27. PART-SONG...'When icicles hang by the wall.'
Love's Labour's Lost, V. ii.

By DR G. A. MACFARREN, composed between 1860 and 1864.

We select this from the many part-songs that Dr Macfarren has composed to Shakspere's words.

APPENDIX.

2*a*. SONG...'It was a lover and his lass.' *As you like it*, V. iii.

By THOS. MORLEY (born about 1550). Both Hawkins and Burney state him to have died in 1604. In 1591 he was organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, and in 1592 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. His compositions were more melodious than those of most of his predecessors, and many of his madrigals and ballets have enjoyed a lasting popularity. This song (No. 2) was printed in "The first book of ayres or little songs to play on the lute," 1600. A copy in MS. (of at least as early a date) is preserved in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.

2*b*. SONG...'The Willow Song.' *Othello*, IV. iii.

Composed about 1600.

9*a*. 'When Daisies pied.' *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii.

By DR ARNE. See page 24†.

10*a*. GLEE...'Hark! Hark! the Lark at Heaven's gate sings.' *Cymbeline*, II. iii.

By DR BENJAMIN COOKE (born 1734, died 1793).

At twelve years old he deputized as organist of Westminster Abbey, —in 57 became master of the choristers there,—in 58 lay vicar, and in 62 was appointed organist of the Abbey. In 75 he became a Mus. Doc. at Cambridge, and in 82 was admitted to the same degree at Oxford. Dr Cooke's compositions, which are voluminous, are for the Church, concert room, and chamber; but the compositions by which he is best known, and which will convey his name to posterity, are his numerous and beautiful glees, canons, &c.; for seven of these he gained prizes. Apart from his eminence as a composer and practical musician, Dr Cooke was one of the best and most learned theorists of his time. He died September 14th, 1793, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, where a mural tablet, with a fine canon, records his skill and worth.

10*b*. SONG...'When that I was a little tiny boy.' *Twelfth Night*, V. ii.

By VERNON.

Wm. Linley in his "Dramatic Songs of Shakspere" has attributed this song to Fielding, but Dr Rimbault has stated that it was really composed by Vernon, a well-known tenor vocalist at the theatres and public places, about 1760—80.

10*c*. GLEE...'Tell me where is fancy bred.' *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii.

By R. J. STEVENS. See page 25†.

12*a*. SONG...'The Willow Song.' *Othello*, IV. iii.

By JAS. HOOK (born 1746, died 1827).

13*a*. GLEE...'You spotted snakes.'

Midsummer Night's Dream, II. iii.

By J. S. STEVENS. See page 25†.

15*a*. DUET...'I know a bank.' *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i.

By CHARLES ED. HORN (born 1786, died 1849). See page 28†.

19*a*. SONG...'Should he upbraid.' *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i.

By SIR H. BISHOP.

The words of this song are altered from a speech of Petrucio's commencing, "Say that she rail;" it is one of Bishop's best-known and justly most popular compositions. It was originally sung by Miss M. Tree as Julia in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

19*b*. DUET...'As it fell upon a day.' *Passionate Pilgrim.*

By SIR H. BISHOP.

Originally sung in *Comedy of Errors* by Miss Stevens and Miss Tree.

22*a*. PART-SONG...'Hark! Hark! the lark at Heaven's gate sings.' *Cymbeline*, II. iii.

By FREDK. WM. KÜCKEN (born 1810, died 1882).

Being the son of a prosperous agriculturist in Hanover, his early displayed musical abilities lacked no means for the due cultivation. He composed two operas and some pianoforte and instrumental music—not much now in request. Kücken was, to invent an Irishism, a great small composer; the song and the part-song formed his domain and stronghold. His popularity in England has been almost as wide as in Germany. His reputation here received an impetus some thirty years ago, when his "Trab, trab," and other songs were sung at Julien's concerts. (Musical Standard.)

22*b*. PART-SONG...'Tell me where is fancy bred.'

Merchant of Venice, III. ii.

By CIRO PINSUTI (Il Cavaliere). Composed about 1881.

Native of Sinalunga, Siena. At ten years old he played in public, and at eleven, being in Rome, was made honorary member of the Academica Filarmonica. He then came to England, and studied till 1845, when he returned home and became the private pupil of Rossini. In 1848 he came back to England and taught singing. At Newcastle he founded a musical society which still exists. Since that time his headquarters have been in London, keeping up his connection with Italy by

frequent visits. He is the composer of several operas which have met with great success in Italy. His first opera was upon the plot of Shakspere's *Merchant of Venice*. In 1859 he was decorated with the order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, and in 1878 King Humbert further created him a knight of the Italian crown. In 1871 he was elected to represent Italy at the opening of the International Exhibition. In singing, many eminent artists have profited by his counsels, as Grisi, Bosio, Patti, Mario, &c. His works are largely diffused, and his charming part-songs, full of melody and spirit, are great favourites with the singing societies of England.

22*c*. PART-SONG...'How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank.' *Merchant of Venice*, V. i.

By J. G. CALLCOTT. Published 1883, and first sung by Henry Leslie's Choir, Feb. 1883.

24*a*. SONG...'The Willow Song.' *Othello*, IV. iii.

24*b*. SONG...'O mistress mine.' *Twelfth Night*, II. iii.

24*c*. SONG...'Orpheus with his lute.' *Henry VIII*, III. i.

By SIR ARTHUR S. SULLIVAN. See page 30†.

26*a*. TRIO...'We cobblers lead a merry life anon.' *Locrine.*

"Locrine" is falsely attributed to Shakspere. On the stage this trio would be performed with hammer and lapstone accompaniment.

27*a*. PART-SONG...'Will you buy any tape?'

Song of Autolycus the Pedlar. *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii.

By C. A. MACIRONE.

Income and Expenditure of the New Shakspere Society *for the Year ending December 31st, 1883.*

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, January 1, 1883	...	...	...	10	3	2
Members' Subscriptions (less, in some cases, Agent's Commission), viz. for 1874—82	71	19	0			
,, 1883	276	2	6			
,, 1884	8	8	0	356	9	6
Donation (Miss E. Phipson)	...	...	...	1	1	0
Sale of one copy "Old London Bridge" ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
				£367	18	8

EXPENSES.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Printing. Paid Clay and Taylor:—						
Balance of their Account for 1882	37	12	3			
Cymbeline	96	3	6			
New Prospectus	5	18	0			
Monthly Abstracts, Papers, Notices, &c. (including addressing and posting to members)	24	13	9			
Warehousing Stock—2 years	10	0	0	174	7	6
Messrs. G. Bell & Sons. *Old-Spelling Shakspere*, on account	...	...		100	0	0
Illustrations:—W. Griggs & Son for Chromo-photo lithograph of Stratford Bust, and posting same to members	27	13	0			
Typographic Etching Co., for *Droeshout Portraits*	6	5	0	33	18	0
Binding of Publications	3	9	6			
Packing of do.	4	5	9			
Carriage and Postage of do.	7	0	2	14	15	5
Postages, Stationery, and Sundries ...	...	...		12	17	5
Members' Meetings	...	...		16	4	3
Expenses of Musical Evening	...	...		14	5	0
Petty Cash in Hon. Secretary's hands	...	...		0	1	8
Balance at Bank	...	...		1	9	5
				£367	18	8

Examined with the vouchers and found correct, January 10, 1884.

FRED. D. MATTHEW,
EDWARD BELL, } Hon. Auditors.

KENNETH GRAHAME, Hon. Sec.

New Shakspere Society.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

(*Seventy-Second Meeting, Friday, October* 14, 1881.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed.

New members: Miss Teena Smith, Professor Unger, and The King's Inn Library, Dublin.

The Society's Report was read from the chair.

The following resolutions were passed relative to the death of the late President Garfield, it being before understood that his Royal Highness Prince Leopold was willing to act as the medium of communication between the society and Mrs Garfield:—1. "That the New Shakspere Society desires to express to Mrs Garfield and her family and the mother of the late President Garfield its heartfelt sympathy with them in the grievous loss which they and their nation have sustained by the death of the late President of the United States, long a member of this society." 2. "That, as a slight tribute of admiration for the loving devotion shown by Mrs Garfield during the long and painful illness of the late President, she be, and hereby is elected the first honorary member of the New Shakspere Society." 3. "That in memory of the late President Garfield's connection with Hiram College, U.S.A., and with the New Shakspere Society, a set of the society's publications be presented to the library of the said college." 4. "That his Royal Highness Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, one of the vice-presidents of the society, be requested to communicate these resolutions to Mrs Garfield."

Mr Furnivall and Dr Bayne spoke of President Garfield's love of literature, retained in spite of military and legislative duties, and of the appropriateness of the Society's connection with the American people being through a man of such comprehensiveness of character.

A Paper by Mr J. W. Mills, B.A., of the Clifton Shakspere Society, "I have much to say on behalf of that Falstaff," was then read from the chair. The paper was in three parts, in the first of which Mr Mills dealt with Falstaff as he appeared in 1 *Henry IV.*, and quoted Rochefoucauld's remark that "the same vanity which

makes us blame the faults from which we think ourselves exempt, induces us to despise the good qualities of which we are devoid." This observation he proceeded to apply to certain modern conceptions of Falstaff, and pointed out that in an age which sins privately and genteelly, which robs by joint-stock companies, gets drunk privately at its club, and goes *respectably* through the Bankruptcy Court, the conduct of a man who tells lies only to make men merrier and happier, and who robs purses half in jest and half in earnest, runs directly counter to all our *improved* notions of right and wrong. It was grossness, he continued, not vice, that so shocked the Victorian age; it was the seeming irreligious, not irreligion itself, that was the damnable sin. Hence the charm of Falstaff's thorough frankness, his *honest knavery*, considered by us an aggravation of his vices. Falstaff's own account of his immoralities was so obviously exaggerated for humour's sake as to be completely worthless as a gauge of his real character. In his charge against Dame Quickly, for instance, of stealing from his pocket "three or four bonds of forty pound apiece," no one was deceived except Dame Quickly herself, the obviously intended victim. His inexhaustible humour and animal spirits charmed us no less than his wisdom, shown in his well-known catechism upon "honour." Yet he was no coward; for he *led* his ragamuffins to where they were so soundly peppered that but three were left alive.

In his second paper Mr Mills dealt with the outlines of Falstaff's nature and life in 2 *Henry IV.*, which Falstaff's abundant frankness made an easy task. He pointed out that in Act v. 1, we might find an important hint about Falstaff's peculiar mode of delivering his jests. He says: "O, it is much, that a lie with a slight oath, and a jest with a sad brow, will do," &c.; which might explain his apparently ill-timed witticism upon Justice Silence, "Good Master Silence, it well befits you should be of the peace," a joke which seemed to have had no damaging effects upon his chances of a future loan. His shrewdness and insight into men were great, as shewn in the instance of Justice Shallow, whom he read like a book, and from whom he secured a loan of a thousand pounds. As to this episode, Mr Mills did not think it at all clear that Falstaff deliberately intended to defraud Shallow, so thorough was his belief in his own favour and friendship with the Prince. Officers, students, merchants, and traders often borrowed money upon prospects no more probable, nor did they on that account suffer social infamy. With regard to Falstaff's treatment of Dame Quickly, it was important to remember, in extenuation, that he retained her affectionate esteem to the very last. Falstaff's final repulse by the king did not necessarily imply that Shakspere intended to point a moral. Shakspere's only concern was with what life taught us, and life taught us that upon the whole prudent vice was just as profitable as prudent virtue—so far as this world was concerned. This episode must be intended to arouse our

sympathies by the sight of the poor fellow's disappointment, and to make us love him the more. Falstaff had faults, and great ones, for everything about the man was colossal; but he might take a proud place among the great benefactors of the nation, as the very incarnation of laughter, genial, refreshing, and free from bitterness.

The death of Falstaff in *Henry V.* formed the subject of the third article. The writer considered that the grounds for introducing this episode were that Falstaff's existence, hitherto only occasionally clouded by debts and duns, lacked the more delicate lines of tenderness, and so for the first time in his career our minds were tuned to a minor key. The heartfelt grief of those who knew him best was the best testimony to his character; and here we found the emotional element, hitherto so conspicuously wanting. Falstaff had loved sack; but he had loved to share it, and the desertion of his former comrades was fatal to him.

After dwelling at length upon the affecting incidents of the death-bed scene, the writer declared it was difficult to listen with calmness to the self-laudations of the present age, as if civilization arose with Stephenson, and morality with the press. Civilization rose to a far greater pitch in Athens under Pericles than in England under Elizabeth; and in England under Elizabeth than in Victoria's reign. Human nature was then fresher, nobler, and richer in all the higher elements, than now, and the vices of that period had their roots in the very exuberance of its strength and manhood, just as ours spring from cowardice and feebleness. Was love of sack worse than, through greed of gain, drowning every year scores of sailors in rotten ships? or unchastity than, for greed of gain, undermining the health and happiness of thousands by poisoning their daily food? Such enormities as these should at least make us less harsh in speaking of our forefather's failings. Our poetry truthfully reflected the difference between the two epochs, in the smooth but laboured lines, or sonorous incomprehensibilities, of modern verse, as compared with the boisterous vigour or simple sweetness of the Elizabethan poets.

After the usual vote of thanks *Mr Furnivall* remarked that if the paper was meant as an attack against the vices and hypocrisy of the present age, well and good; but when we were asked to excuse Falstaff's faults because he makes us laugh, it was really time to protest. Falstaff's good-nature was merely a moral weakness; if you *had* to judge him morally, then you could not condemn him too strongly. For this aged ruffian, this disgrace to the noble profession whose attributes were so beautifully described by Chaucer, robbing a poor woman, and doing his best to debauch the hope of England, no excuse could be found. It was no excuse to say that we now-a-days commit enormities of a deeper dye. As for the passage adduced in support of his courage, we read that he "*led*" his men, &c., not that he stayed and fought with them.

Dr Bayne dwelt upon the immense value of such a character as Falstaff as a promoter of laughter, hearty and unrestrained; but, he pointed out, in all *testing* experiences of life, Falstaff utterly failed; in friendship, indeed, we may give him the benefit of the doubt; but we must notice how Shakspere is mercilessly, almost unnecessarily, severe, in the casting off of Falstaff by the king.

Dr Nicholson denied the absence of an intended moral. He also pointed out that Falstaff was a character Shakspere must constantly have met with in London—that of a disbanded captain, like Bobadill or Tucca.

Dr Darmesteter joined in protesting against any tentative rehabilitation of Falstaff's character. There was nothing to make us suppose that Shakspere ever intended to introduce the faintest ray of the ideal, or the slightest touch of moral dignity. As for his idea of honour, it agreed exactly with that of Iago's, "As I am an honest man, I thought you had received some bodily wound; there is more offence in that, than in reputation." True, the narrative of his death was of the deepest pathos; but it would be a wrong inference to suppose that even here Shakspere felt any sympathy with his hero: the scene was evidently meant as an illustration of the old saying, "When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be." It was noteworthy that Sir John dies not only a Christian, but a Puritan death; his dying words are against the "whore of Babylon," the first whore, and the only one apparently, that ever aroused his virtuous indignation.

Mr Spalding remarked that the whole theory required stronger condemnation, viz.: that men were all either hypocrites and proud of it, or hypocrites who tried to conceal it, and that, for the writer's part, he rather preferred the former. The same should be said of the cheap cynicism that "prudent vice paid as well as prudent virtue."

Mr Mills, who was not present, thus comments on the discussion above: he admits that he wrote in the spirit of an advocate—*advocatus Diaboli*, if you will,—who undertakes to defend before a jury—modern Society—prejudiced against the accused from an inadequate conception of the difference between temptation to imperfect moral natures in Elizabeth's age and in our own times. The New Shakspere Society were "reverend benchers."

Falstaff did not *of set purpose* debauch the hope of England; their friendship was a casual connection, and did the prince rather good than harm. In his catechism of honor the knight meant *military glory;* in *that sense* it is as wise as witty. Mr Mills denies that any such theory as "all men are either hypocrites and proud of it, or hypocrites who try to conceal it," is to be found in his paper. He maintains that weak morals + manly frankness, is better than

weak morals + hypocrisy. Thackeray says of Hogarth's pictures, "Not one of his tales but is as easy as 'Goody two shoes'; it is Tommy was a naughty boy and the master flogged him; Jacky was a good boy and had plum-cake." Such a scheme of morals is not found in Falstaff's end, who is granted "a competency for life," and dies honestly in his bed. The maxim :—"Prudent vice is upon the whole as successful as prudent virtue *so far as concerns this world*," is the belief of a school of thought to which belong Dean Stanley, Professor Maurice, Kingsley, Bishop Temple, Fenelon, Seneca, Cicero, Socrates, and such like cheap cynics. Pope sums up this "cheap cynicism" thus :—

> "But sometimes *Virtue starves while Vice is fed;*
> What then? is the reward of Virtue *bread?*
> What nothing earthly gives nor can destroy—
> *The soul's calm sunshine and the heartfelt joy*
> *Is Virtue's prize.*"—(Essay on Man.)

But Mr Mills' critic apparently holds the contrary doctrine; viz. that Virtue's prize is bread and beer, or a comfortable villa and a brougham, or an estate and peerage, according to the social rank of the virtuous man. Which of these two doctrines is consonant with human *experience* it is for inductive philosophers to decide; both cannot be true.

(*Seventy-Third Meeting, Friday, November* 11, 1881.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr William Poel was announced as a new member.

Mr Kirkman's paper on "Suicides in Shakspere," not being ready, was transferred to Jan. 13th, 1882, and a paper on "All's Well That Ends Well," by Mr J. G. A. Dow, M.A., of the Monday Shakspere Club, Glasgow, was read from the Chair. As this will be at once printed in full, and sent round to members, and will also be bound up in the "Transactions," it is not abstracted here. The second Paper read—from the Chair—was an old one by Mr Richard Grant-White of New York, "The Tale of the Forest of Arden," telling, in its writer's happiest style, the story of *As you like it*, and commenting on the chief characters in the play in a way that was highly approved in the discussion that followed, except in the one instance of Touchstone, whom Mr Grant-White had identified in spirit with Jaques, as a loveless cynic. This view of the "clownish fool (who'd) go along o'er the wide world with" Celia, and whose good humour shone thro' his every word, was repudiated by every speaker.

Seventy-fourth Meeting, Friday, December 9th, 1881.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

Miss E. H. Hickey read a paper upon *Romeo and Juliet*. After an account of the first appearances of the story in Italian literature, which would fix the date of the events at about the beginning of the fourteenth century, Miss Hickey went on to point out that the play was Shakspere's early work, and it was interesting to notice the difference in conception and form between it and the later tragedies, from which it is separated perhaps by as much as ten years.

It was the only tragedy of Shakspere's in which love played the part of parts; the only one in which the lyric element predominated. The action of the play lasted a little over four days, and through all of it there was hurry, vehemence, precipitancy towards the end.

Was it love or fancy, the first affection of Romeo for Rosaline? At any rate there was no falseness to any one; when the great love of his short life came upon him, there was no claim to be thrown aside, no bond to be broken. A difference in Romeo's language after he comes under the influence of his passion for Juliet was to be noticed; no longer the antitheses about heavy lightness, serious vanity, feather of lead, &c. His language was informed by passion, and became direct, natural, living. Romeo was, to the writer, one of the most loveable of Shakspere's characters. "Virtuous and well-governed," he had the strength of purity, the courtesy that came of feeling, not convention, and that crowning gift of grace in which the strongest are so often lacking. He was one of those whose look and voice draw love from all who come near. "Good-morrow, Father," he says to the Friar, who replies, "Benedicite! what early tongue so sweet saluteth me?" When telling Benvolio of his tormenting passion he could break off to salute the puzzled serving-man, and help him out of his trouble. Lady Capulet's was an essentially vulgar nature, if by vulgarity we mean, with Ruskin, "deathful callousness." We found, by the way, in Juliet what would seem unnatural in a happy English girl, that element of cunning in her character. Few who read the play had any idea how little there was in the words spoken to each other by Romeo and Juliet at their first meeting; how merely conventional those words and kisses might have been, not binding these two any more than the embrace in a waltz would in our day. It was beautifully arranged that before the second meeting, Romeo should overhear Juliet's confession of love; thenceforth there was no need to resume "the august veil of natural reserve." Coleridge said that he did not know a more wonderful instance of Shakspere's mastery in playing a distinctly rememberable variety on the same remembered air than in the transporting love-confessions of Romeo

and Juliet and of Ferdinand and Miranda. Romeo's confidant, the Friar, was one of those gentle, well-meaning souls to whom violent delight is only a thing doomed to a violent end. It was on the side of the "grace" in the big world outside his cloister that Brother Laurence ranged himself; but he was so apart from the world of passion that he simply had no idea of such things as the flesh-trembling of Tybalt, the wild vehemence of Romeo.

We should, as Coleridge pointed out, mark Shakspere's gentleness on touching the tender superstitions, the *terræ incognitæ* of presentiments in the human mind; and how sharp a line of distinction he commonly draws between these obscure forecastings of general experience in each individual and the vulgar errors of mere tradition. Indeed, it may, as he says, be taken once for all as the truth, that Shakspere, in the absolute universality of his genius, always reverences whatever arises out of our moral nature; he never profanes his muse with a contemptuous reasoning away of the genuine and general, however unaccountable, feelings of mankind. It was important to contrast the deceptive nature of Romeo's presage with the truth of Juliet's.

It was years before Shakspere wrote another tragedy; he had much to learn and much to feel. It might be that, feeling how there was the great tragic power in him, he waited for its growing and ripening, and worked at simpler work, determining that the work he thought the greatest should be done the best. When he led us again into these realms there was a vast change; he had learnt that the love between a man and woman was not the whole of life. He had learnt that a man's work must be done even if it meant the giving up of the dearest things—the breaking of the closest ties. There was no agony in Romeo and Juliet. There was pathos and pity, but we could bear to look on them lying dead in the morning light without our hearts being wrung as they are when "Enter Lear with Cordelia dead in his arms." They were not conquered by fate. "Star-crossed lovers" they might be, yet they had conquered. Theirs had been a love that no distrust had ever clouded, theirs a union that death, weaker than love, was powerless to break. Lovely and pleasant in their lives, in their death they were not divided.

In the discussion which followed, Mr Furnivall approved of the bringing out of the contrast between Shakspere's earlier and later tragedies. He noticed the *reasonableness* of old Capulet when spoken to at first by Paris,—so different from his after violence—"Get her heart, Paris, woo her, &c., my consent is but a part," and he did not agree with Miss Hickey as to the sacrificial aspect of the play. As to Romeo, he differd from Miss Hickey. He never felt that Romeo was really a 'man': that spoony weeping and sighing over Rosalind, shutting up his windows to make 'himself an artificial night' (I. i. 138-146); that tearing his hair, weeping 'on the ground, with his own

tears made drunk' (III. iii. 68, 83), &c., when he heard of his banishment; that talk of cutting his name out of his body, &c. (III. iii. 10), were too far from an Englishman's notion of Manhood to enable any one to give very strong praise to Romeo. The Friar's reproach in III. iii. 109-113, was only too well dezervd :—

"Art thou a man? thy form cries out thou art:
Thy tears are womanish; thy wild acts denote
The unreasonable fury of a beast: 111
Unseemly woman in a seeming man!
Or ill-beseeming beast in seeming both!....
Thy noble shape is but a form of wax, 126
Digressing from the valour of a man."

Of course Romeo was more than this, had manly and loveable qualities; but too much mustn't be made of him.

Dr Bayne said that the "cunning" noticed in Juliet was in love not uncommon with women, as in Helena's case. Romeo, in spite of faults, was at heart a noble fellow. Love in him is strong enough to quell his pride, and make him submit even to be called villain; but when his friend is killed, the limit of his forbearance is reached, and his manliness asserts itself.

Mr Harrison, as another instance of cunning in love, gave Desdemona, who deceived her father.

Dr Nicholson said that Romeo was not a man; he was a young man; if he had lived, he would have been the first citizen in Verona; and Mercutio, had he lived, would have been the second.

Miss Phipson observed in all Shakspere's characters an indifference to truth, and thought that there was not in those times so strict a regard to truth in small matters.

Dr Nicholson then read his Notes upon three passages in *Hamlet*.

I. Mortal Coil. *Hamlet*, III. i. 67.

Dr Nicholson defended this against Mason and Professor Elze's changes. His arguments (excepting those directly against these changes) were: (1) That the word excellently expressed Hamlet's feeling that he was here confined, cribbed and fettered far more than he would be when divested of this garment or "tabernacle" of flesh. (2) That the verb "shuffle off" as aptly described the endeavours of one so confined to free himself from a close encircling cable coil. (3) That "coil," though then only a nautical term, existed by the evidence of Cotgrave and Capt. J. Smith (of Virginian renown). And (4) That nautical words and phrases were then so commonly used as to be in the mouths of mere shoregoers. He also adduced a passage given him by Miss Toulmin Smith from the Towneley Mysteries (1st part of 15th cent.)—"a masse of widows coylle."

II. Sables. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 121-2.

This only seemed obscure, because commentators had not considered how Shakspere necessarily dressed his characters. Hamlet in "inky" black; but as Claudius and Gertrude had recently married, and because Claudius had given himself to the enjoyment of the crown in "wakes and wassails, etc.," they were, as it were, in half-mourning—wore their ordinary royal robes, but now trimmed with sables. Hence Hamlet makes one of his usual sarcastic hits at them —"Wear black when those I ought to follow put on ostentatious shews of mourning which set them off in the pomps of this world? No." Such a remark would justly rouse the King's suspicions. But a passage in R. Armin's 'Italian Taylor,' &c. (Argument, Canto II.) runs—

"Enuie in her sables drest
Adorned like one of ire."

This has since induced him to suspect a second and occult meaning. "The devil take black, tis time I swooped to my revenge," a thought constantly in Hamlet's mind, though from infirmity of action he put it off till at last it occurred through the action of the King himself.

III. Comma. *Hamlet*, V. ii. 41-2.

Like others he had once proposed to change this word through ignorance of the then modes of speech. Two illustrations have been mislaid, but N. Breton in his 'Packet of Madde Letters,' 1603, gave (B. 1, lett. 38) "the place, [of combat] where God and a good conscience will quickly determine the quarrell: but I fear the point of the sword will make a comma to your cunning." Shakspere used the phrase with more subtilty and felicity, because he represents her or it as standing between them, while (especially when we compare a comma with the other stops) she or it joins two allied persons or clauses, holding out a hand to either.

IV. The world's a stage. *As you like it*, II. 7.

Neither this nor the Seven Ages are original thoughts. The Fathers, &c. (quoted from N. & Q., 15 Oct. '81, p. 311) give this. So did the Globe motto, "Totus mundus agit histrionem," and so others. So does a new example from Withal's Dictionary, inserted when the section on Plays was enlarged, 1586, the first edition after plays had become fashionable and common, as shewn by the Theatre first mentioned in 1576, the Blackfriars, built the same year, and the Curtain finished in 1577. "Scena autem mundus, versatilis histrio, et actor quilibet est hominum.—This life is a certayne interlude or play. The world is a stage full of change every way. Every man is a player and therein a dealer." The translator attempts rhyme, as frequently in his proverbial sayings. The original is not improbably mediæval.

On these Notes Mr Furnivall said (1) that he quite agreed with Dr Nicholson in keeping "coil." His experience of Elze was, that if an author uzed the aptest possible word, Elze was sure to try and emend it: witness his changing the admirable "*leathern* Adam" of *Edw. III.* (Adam clad in skins, or his own skin, or leather) to an abominable "*heathen* Adam"; Dryden's happy 'crest' of the advancing ships, to a puddingy '*breast*'; Milton's right "champing his iron *curb*," to a ludicrous "champing his iron *rein*"—so quietly chafft by Mr Matthew in our *Trans.* 1877-9, p. 48*-49*—as if there had ever been a rider who didn't know of a curb bit as well as a curb chain. These Elzean emendations were a perfect pest. (2) As to *sables*, Shakspere's own use of it in *Hamlet* IV. vii. 81, "for youth no less becomes The light and careless livery that it wears, Than settled age his *sables* and his weeds, Importing health[1] and graveness," shows that Shakspere did not mean by *sables* a funereal or mourning dress, as he did by black, but only a brown rich dress, just as a widow going out of mourning now might say, "I'll throw off my crape cloak, and take to my sealskin." The father Hamlet's 'sable silverd' (cp. Sonnet XII. 4) might be any colour of brown, a more natural colour for a Scandinavian's hair than black. The fur 'sable' never was black[2]; tho in *Haml.* II. ii. 474 the adjective meant that. (3) For *Comma*, Mr Furnivall suggested the meaning 'hyphen,' which gave the sense required by the passage. He founded this on the French "*Virgule:* f. A little rod, yard; streake; and thence also, a comma" (Cotgrave), though he admitted he could produce no instance of comma=hyphen, and that the first hyphens were two oblique parallels =, and not the single slanting metrical bar, or pause-mark / that the *virgule*, Ital. *virgola*, was. He also admitted that Ben Jonson spoke of 'hyphens' when he did of 'commas', though by his 'comma' he meant a 'semi-colon', that is, a stop making a pause longer than our comma. Gifford's scandalous alteration of Ben Jonson's text had confuzed men on this point; and unluckily when correcting Jonson, Col. Cunningham (*J.'s Works*, 2 cols., iii. 458) put "Folio, 1640" over Gifford's unauthorized changes, and "Gifford, 1816" over the Folio text (modernized). Why Jonson held the semi-colon as the shorter stop, and the comma as the longer one, was well explained by Cunningham: "as a dot over a period (:) denotes a lesser distinction than the period itself, so a dot over a comma (;) denoted a lesser distinction than the comma itself."

(4) On 'the world's a stage' Mr Furnivall referd to the extract printed by him in the *Trans.* for 1877-9, p. 471, from Googe's

[1] Corson's and Furness's doctrine of *respective* construction here, that *health* refers to *youth*, is to be considerd.

[2] At the Meeting on Jan. 13, 1882, Mr F. showd some sable skins lent to Miss Hickey by her landlord, a furrier in Regent St. These little things were darkish brown on the back, but mainly light brown, with yellowish and white bits on the belly. The most choice and valuable skins only are dark brown.

englishing of Palingenius Stellatus, who flourisht about 1500 A.D. The metaphor could be carried much further back.

Dr P. Bayne remarked that Dr Nicholson's paper entitled him to the gratitude of the Society on account of its careful research, and the sagacity with which it swept away those cobweb emendations by which the unmistakeably Shaksperian phrase "mortal coil" had been obscured. But his suggestion on the famous *HAMLET* difficulty of the "suit of sable" or "sables," though learned and ingenious, was quite unnecessary; since, in Dr Bayne's opinion, the difficulty had been perfectly removed by Warburton, being shown to have arisen wholly from a misreading of the text. By merely supposing that Shakspere intended to say "'fore," *i. e.* before, instead of *for*, the difficulty is swept away. What was the difficulty? That the "for" assigned a reason for Hamlet's wearing black, when the very point of his irony lay in exclaiming on the length of time since his father's death, implying the absurdity of wearing mourning, so that we irresistibly expect him to say that he will *not* wear black, or anything that proclaims a sense of bereavement. But this is precisely what he says, if Warburton's—not conjecture, but—*perception* of what Shakspere meant to write is accepted. "Let the devil wear black 'fore I'll have a suit of sables." If Hamlet were in black at the time, the irony would not be the less pungent than if he were otherwise dressed; for then he would, in effect, threaten to cast his black dress to the devil. That Shakspere connected "sable" and "sables" with darkness and gravity is demonstrated, even within the bounds of this play. Old Hamlet's beard was "a sable silvered," and the light livery of youth is contrasted with "the sables and the weeds" of "settled age." Warburton's reading does not involve the smallest meddling with the text: it is a restoration; since no one imagines that Shakspere wrote with scrupulous regard to spelling, and his "for"—if we presume that he wrote "for" and not "'fore"—would naturally be supposed by a copyist or printer to be the causal conjunction.

To Mr Furnivall's objection that commentators generally had declined Warburton's suggestion, Dr Bayne replied that he could account for that only by its extreme simplicity, its absolute aptness—satisfactoriness. To the critics it seemed impossible that a problem so often deemed insoluble should be so easily solved.

To these criticisms Dr Nicholson replied—As to Warburton's change: (1) An explanation is to be preferred to conjectural readings. (2) Though the adjective "sable" generally meant black, the substantive "sables" always meant the fur. Hence the one change requires a second change, that of "sables" to "sable." (3) The repetition of black and sable (= black) forms a sentence hardly idiomatic, certainly not Shaksperian colloquial English. (4) "Let the devil wear black 'fore," &c., as though black had not been the devil's colour, is somewhat more than ridiculous, the more so as

Hamlet did not suit the action to the word. (5) The present reading says what according to Dr Bayne "we irresistibly expect." "So long! I'll no longer wear plain sincere black, but put on, for custom and decency's sake, an ostentatious shew of mourning"—of which (*suburdita*) my Aunt-Mother and Uncle-Father give me so good an example. Dr Bayne's theory of rejection won't stand the general run of facts. "Light lights," *R. J.* I. iv. 45, is at once accepted for the error, "Lights, Lights," &c. &c.

'Tis nothing less = anything but, Schmidt, as in *Richard II.* II. ii. 34, &c. When one now says—"This is mere trickery"—and his friend replies—"**'tis nothing less**," he answers affirmatively, meaning, it is in reality trickery, it is nothing less. But, though neither Nares, H. Phillipps in his Dictionary, Dyce, nor I believe any other commentator till Schmidt noticed it, in Elizabethan times the phrase was often used as a flat denial, signifying, "There is **nothing less** so than it," *i. e.* it is at the other extremity of the line, or the two are far as the poles asunder. This is its sense in *Richard II.* II. ii. l. 34, and the following are two examples from Joshua Sylvester. "*Simile non est idem*," &c. st. 2 :—

> "O Mindes! O manners, most absurd
> When (to the Scandall of the Word)
> The more our Light the worse our Works:
> When *seeming* SAINCTS *be* **nothing less**;
> And more Prophane, who most Profess,
> Than *Infidells* or *Iews*, or *Turks*."

So in "*A Brief* [Protestant] *Catechism* of the Lord's Supper :—

> *Q.* But, is Christ present in the Sacrament?
> *A.* Yea: and his Flesh hee doth vs there present.
> *Q.* How meanest thou, that the substantiall Essence
> (After a reall and a carnall presence)
> Of Christ his Body, in the Bread is closed;
> And, of his Blood within the Wine inclosed?
> *A.* No; **nothing less**. *Q.* &c."

These quotations are from the collected edition of 1626.—*B. N.*

jackanapes, sb. ape, monkey: *Henry V.*, V. ii. 148. *Vice*, &c. "It was a prety part in the old Church-playes when the nimble Vice would skip vp nimbly like a Jacke an Apes into the deuils nacke, and ride the deuil a course, and belabour him with his woodden dagger, til he made him roare, whereat the people would laugh to see the deuil so vice-haunted. This action, and passion had som semblance, by reason the deuil looked like a patible old *Coridon*, with a payre of hornes on his head, and a Cowes tayle at his breach." 1603. S. Harsnet. *Popish Impostures*, p. 115.

(*Seventy-Fifth Meeting, Friday, January* 13, 1882.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Rev. J. Kirkman read his paper on "Suicide in Shakspere." He regretted that there was no other word which he felt satisfied to substitute for suicide. The nearest he could suggest was The Two Voices, "To be or not to be," and how Shakspere had dealt with that question as animating the human mind. Tennyson's 'Two Voices' was of course an amplification, or a glorification, of Hamlet's soliloquy. Mr Kirkman presumed to differ from the facile author of 'Lessons from my Masters,' because he blocked up the beautiful gate by a word Tennyson had not used. He said "Voice No. 1 opens the dialogue with a recommendation to the poet to commit suicide," so, whatever might follow, he at the start applied this ugly and black word to long courses of metaphysical or emotional movements of the soul, which might possibly lead to the final act called suicide, or which perhaps ought to lead to it.

Suicide was not however the original suggestion, but the conflict of "To be or not to be." With the one we had unlimited sympathy; towards the other, one's sympathy is not appealed to. Thus we must distinguish between the argument which might lead on to suicide, and the act to which it does not lead on after all. The one was everything; the other nothing at all.

By a precisely similar comparison, Shakspere established a measureless distinction between the mental process and the final act to which it led, or even to which it did not lead. In both cases the moral lesson was the same, that the mental conflict was everything, the mere shedding of blood nothing. It was the working of conscience in Macbeth or in Lady Macbeth, not the difference of its issues; the meditations on death in Brutus, not the philosophic act of the soldier-stoic; Cleopatra pursuing conclusions infinite of easy ways to die,—the stings of thoughts, not the mortal stings of asps,—that most absorbed our attention.

The contrast between Hamlet and Ophelia made itself particularly felt in this respect. Hamlet thought a thousand suicides, but committed none; Ophelia wilfully sought her own salvation. Hamlet was all individuality; Ophelia was far too blanched of individuality to do anything extraordinary. The wonder was, that she had the sense to go mad. Nothing in her life became her like the leaving of it. Ophelia's suicide was so palpably the antithesis to Hamlet's meditation on suicide, that we had the kernel of the whole subject in it.

We must observe the frequency, comparatively speaking, of

suicides in the Roman plays (four in *Antony and Cleopatra;* two in *Julius Cæsar*), and with what absurdity even Dante put Brutus and Cassius along with Judas Iscariot and a host of other suicides; and then trace how Shakspere evolved his noble favourite Brutus, the very type of intellectual democracy and the levelling-up of intellect. Brutus might *not* have committed the final act; and all his previous reasoning would stand untouched, unweakened. Titinius was a shadow, a true shadow, of Brutus, or rather of Cassius.

But to pass to the wondrous play of *Antony and Cleopatra*. There was a fastidious niceness about Cleopatra, and a royal delicacy of refinement in her experiments and "conclusions infinite," &c. The incomparable pathos of self-reproach in Enobarbus was a vortex of mind and mental agony, in which his death is but as centre. But Enobarbus, Eros, and Antony were a trio, in which each was master to the other.

Othello's death was of less account for the argument of suicide: it was the only thing left for him to do, the only way out. As to Romeo and Juliet, love would do anything, and death was a trifle in its estimate. Goneril was the typical case of Lady Macbeth; and poor Gloucester was the variety of escaping from incurable woe, which, after all, next to remorse of guilty conscience, was the commonest case, as Lucrece, from shame. It was strange that these two instances of suicide from inability to control remorse, should be women. But it confirmed the main position, that the whole lesson was one of mental history, in which the outward act went for little. In women emotion became uncontrollable, and gave a final momentum; in men it expended itself by reasoning.

There might be a difference of opinion about Timon, as to whether he was a suicide or not; the writer put him down as a case of self-administration of euthanasia. He prepared his grave, wrote his epitaph, had eaten his last root, cried, "Sun, hide thy beams! Timon has done his reign," and lay down and died.

Macbeth, who was altogether in that state in which many another, equally brave, would have slipped out by the contemptible back door of suicide, yet diverts himself therefrom by a petty turn of thought.

> "Why should I play the Roman fool, and die
> On mine own sword?"

We found all the *varieties* of causes and circumstances leading to suicide. Insanity in Ophelia; remorse of conscience in Lady Macbeth, Goneril; the high Roman style of exit in Brutus, Titinius, Eros; shame in Lucrece; love and despair in Romeo and Juliet, Pyramus and Thisbe; climax of abhorrence of life in Timon (if he did do it); nothing else left to do in poor Othello; dishonour and disgrace in Antony and Enobarbus; and evading of public humiliation in the proud Egyptian queen. To lump all these together under one heading was as indiscriminate as making all cats alike in

the dark. The suicides were about equally divided between men and women; and there was not one man actually belonging to the type of humanity in these isles, except Gloucester, whose act, however, was not consummated, and but two women.

Most instructive were the cases which did not end in suicide, although, as one might say, logically they ought to. Richard III. was more steeped in murder than Macbeth or his wife, more tortured by remorseful conscience than she or Goneril; yet his own moral cowardice retained him for punishment on this side the act.

In conclusion Mr Kirkman observed that on a former occasion some suppressed wrath was suggestively muttered against the reference made to two passages in Shakspere, and the interpretation put upon them. Imogen says in *Cymbeline*, III. iv.—

> "Against self-slaughter
> There is a prohibition so divine
> That cravens my weak hand."

And Hamlet in *Hamlet*, I. ii.—

> "Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter!"

On these we had to allow two observations. First, whatever you take to be the meaning of "canon" or "divine prohibition," there is no canon in the Scriptures on the subject. Secondly, we must observe that both the speakers were in a heathen, not in a Christian, atmosphere. He had little doubt that the real emotion and principle of obedience in Hamlet and Imogen which was *sufficient* in either case, was to the instinct of self-preservation elevated by conscience into a moral law. But, as Hume says, "There is no law, natural or divine, against it." This observation was beautified on the last occasion to intimate that he (Mr Kirkman) did not disapprove of suicide! He certainly could not object to illogical critics intellectually cutting their own throats. They might possibly be *morts guèris*.

Mr Furnivall agreed that the actual suicide was of little account compared with the mental conflict which led to it, but (in those cases which did *not* end in suicide) was there not always an idea of *vengeance?* Had not some of those men (Macbeth, for instance) to make expiation? They were not to be allowed to get out of it by stabbing themselves. They must be kept to be formally executed. In Brutus' case it was, after all, Cæsar who killed him.

Dr Bayne said that, in order to do justice either to Mr Kirkman's paper or his own appreciation of its merits, he would require to go over these in detail, which was impossible; but his censures were to be taken not as his estimate of the essay, but as mere qualifications to a verdict generally favourable. Mr Kirkman had referred to him (Dr B.) by name, objecting to his use of the word "suicide" in describing the issue in Tennyson's 'Two Voices.' He (Dr B.) did not care about the word, but if its meaning was definite, the fact that it

was Latin, and "self-slaughter" Anglo-Saxon, seemed hardly reason enough for proscribing it. He complained of a certain vagueness in Mr Kirkman's treatment of his theme, a haziness as to the connection between premise and conclusion. He would not deny that, both in Shakspere's passages on self-slaughter and in Tennyson's handling of the question in the 'Two Voices,' there might be a balancing of higher life, viewed as true being, against low, degraded life, viewed as no being. But though Mr Kirkman used many elaborate and sonorous phrases, he (Dr B.) had not felt that the line of demarcation was distinctly drawn between these two. And what he particularly insisted on was that, whether they dilated on the high ideal aspect of the matter or did not, Shakspere, Tennyson, and, he might add, Goëthe, did certainly condescend to treat of that self-slaughter which consisted in terminating the bodily life. Shakspere could thread his way among the airiest abstractions,—could trace the thinnest cloud-films of thought floating on the firmament of intellect, —but he had a giant's grasp also on the beliefs, the mental habitudes, of common men. And whatever might be found in his pages as to the balancing of being against no-being, it was assuredly the life of breath and of blood he had in view, when he spoke of putting an end to it with a bare bodkin. Dr B. could not admit any grounds for questioning that Shakspere, when he referred to the "canon" fixed by "the Everlasting" against self-slaughter, was thinking of the prevalent belief of his contemporaries that conscience and the Bible condemned suicide. Nor was the inference of an injunction against self-slaughter from the eighth commandment by any means forced or unnatural. Was there, he would ask, an army in Europe in which self-slaughter was not criminal, on the ground that it was a desertion of the colours? And could the Hebrews, every man of whom was a soldier in the army of his theocratic King, visible ever to him as cloud by day and fire by night, have any difficulty in understanding that they were forbidden to quit the ranks before getting their discharge? Dr B. objected to any mention of Goneril and Lady Macbeth in connection with each other, even so much as to suggest a useful contrast, the one being a mere vulture gorging on carrion, the other having in her at least a spark of finest life. He did not admit it to be proved that Lady Macbeth killed herself.

Rev. W. A. Harrison would differentiate the treatment of the Roman plays from that of the other plays, in talking of suicide, because Shakspere, of course, took his facts from known sources (North's 'Plutarch').

Mr J. Knight cited two illustrations on the subject. The lines at the end of 'The Blot on the Scutcheon,'

> "There are blind ways provided, the foredone
> Heart-weary player in this pageant-world
> Drops out by, letting the main masque defile
> By the conspicuous portal"—

and then as to *Hamlet*, the words to Horatio, "Absent thee from felicity awhile," &c. Hamlet was prohibited from suicide so long as his uncle lived. After, he might have proved himself "more the antique Roman than the Dane."

Dr Nicholson remarked that Macbeth, we must remember, was under the influence of the weird sisters, and trusted in their predictions to the very end. He thought that Ophelia was ill-used by Mr Kirkman. She had been for three months suffering under the loss of Hamlet's love, and then upon that came the death of her father, at the hands of her lover.

The second paper was by Mrs J. H. Tucker, of Clifton, on Constance, insisting on her motherhood as the key to her character, the centre of her life, in which her individuality was almost absorbed. Among all the heroines of Shakspere, no figure stood out touched with more dramatic power than that of Constance against the background of the selfish kings. She appeared as a generous, high-spirited, impulsive woman, a pure and loving wife, ardent and impetuous in feeling; often rash and inconsiderate in action; just the one to find her confidence betrayed and taken advantage of by unscrupulous enemies. She did not appear to have been naturally vindictive or ambitious. When brought face to face with her great injurer, Elinor, she indeed met scorn with scorn—defiance with defiance; but her anger was loftier far as it was more unselfish, and bore down the rancorous spite of her mother-in-law. It was as the mother of Arthur, the rightful possessor of England as well as Bretagne, and doing battle on behalf of an oppressed and innocent child, that we must consider her. Nowhere else had Shakspere so depicted the maternal character with all its forceful springs of action. Volumnia was a proud and tender mother, but it was as the Roman matron placing patriotism above even maternal affection that we admire her. Hermione found speech at the kiss of Perdita; but it was the dignified patience and gentle submission of the injured wife that clothed her with undying beauty. In Constance it was her intense absorbing devotion as a mother that had immortalized her for all ages. Yet we found a want in her character, which seemed to have been more vehement than strong, lacking self-reliance and resource and resignation to the will of Heaven. There were two salient points in the character of Constance—her ready wit and wondrous imagination. How cleverly she fenced with Elinor, how keen were her shafts in the hide of Austria, and how wonderful her conception of Death! No character exercised a stronger fascination over us, attracting us by its intense womanliness.

The third paper was the concluding lecture of a series delivered by Mr C. H. Herford, and dealt with Shakspere's character. There were two conceptions to which the views taken of Shakspere's character generally tended to approximate: on the one hand, that suggested more especially by the literal interpretation of the Sonnets,

of the man of intense and lawless passions; on the other, that suggested by his practical business-like habits and worldly success, of a man whose own life was calm, cheerful, unperplexed; but who was furnished with a sort of miraculous instructive faculty of representing the passions of others. The one view constructed his character from a narrow interpretation of his writings; the other in reality without reference to his writings at all. But if we knew anything it was this, that his dramas were not purely artificial products; but that many of their differences were related to the successive phases of Shakspere's mental growth in which they were produced. It was clear we must study his character in his work and not apart from it; on the other hand, we must not ignore the element of art. It was the conflict of the individual with its society that was with wonderful variety handled in the tragedies. He hardly ever brings the cause of the tragic issue home to either side exclusively; if Hamlet was not quite sound, there was also something rotten in the state of Denmark; the disease, he implied, was general, not particular. While *character* was Shakspere's profoundest interest, he was perfectly well aware of the relation in which it stood to society; he playfully satirized Arcadias in *As You Like It;* and when in *Winter's Tale* he made shepherds a theme of serious art, they were real, not Arcadian shepherds. And his best pictures of love were not to be found in the lyric raptures of Romeo and Juliet, but rather in the exquisite wooing of Perdita and Florizel, or the calm but deep wifely loyalty of Brutus' Portia.

The same fundamental respect for facts governed his treatment of men in the larger relations of political action. Living as he did in an age fundamentally sound, he had no radical antagonism towards the spirit of his age. Neither had he any superstitious reverence for rank. He could draw a prince like Cloten, and, in *Coriolanus*, was hardly less severe on the patrician aristocracy than on the faults of the multitude. If he appeared more favourable towards aristocracies than the people, it must be remembered that the great mass of citizens then had not only a far less significant voice in public affairs than now, but also a far smaller claim to such a voice. But politics, to borrow a metaphor from Portia, lay only in the suburbs of Shakspere's mind; they were never the subject of his deepest utterances, they offered him no insoluble heart-searching problem. He was equally devoid of theological fanaticism. He drew Christians and pagans as men, not Christianity and paganism as creeds; he could draw the stoic Brutus with his paganism, and Hamlet with his belief in a Catholic purgatory. This impartial treatment of religions led to strenuous attempts being made to associate him with some one of them. It was clear that he *professed* Protestantism; it was also clear that the cultivated society of those days was not dominated by the Protestant creed, but was deeply penetrated with the Renaissance.

But the very centre of his art was *character*, and he never inti-

mated that the virtue of his characters was due to divine grace, or their vice to a want of it, or to a tribunal beyond the grave. Yet the moral feeling of his dramas, at least in the latter part of his career, was strong and pervading, being controlled by a loyalty to facts which would not allow him to represent vice as more invariably unfortunate, or virtue as more invariably successful, than they actually are.

SCRAPS.

urchin, sb. : *Tempest*, I. ii. 326. "But if a *Peeter-penny*, or an howzle-egge were behind, or a patch of tyth vnpaid to the Church (*Iesu Maria*) then ware where you walke for feare of *bull-beggars*, *spirits*, *witches*, **vrchins**, *elues*, *hags*, *fairies*, *Satyrs*, *Pans*, *Fawnes*, *Syluans*, *Kit with the candlesticke*, *Tritons*, *Centaurs*, *Dwarffs*, *Giants*, *impes*, *Calcars*, *coniurers*, *Nymphs*, *changlings*, *scritchowles*, *Incubus the spurne*, *the mare*, *the man in the oake*, *helwayne*, *the fire-drake*, *the puckle*, *Tom thumbe*, *hobgoblin*, *Tom-tumbler*, *Boneles*, *and the rest* : and what girle, boy, or olde wisard would be so hardy to step ouer the threshold in the night for an half-penny worth of mustard amongst this frightfull crue, without a dozen *auemaries*, two dosen of crosses surely signed, and halfe a dosen *Pater nosters*, and the commending himselfe to the tuition of *S. Vncumber*, or els our blessed Lady?" 1603. S. Harsnet. *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*, p. 135. See Scots booke of Witches.

The good years, 'used as a slight curse,' Schmidt. *Lear*, V. iii. 24, &c. This was indubitably the Fr. *gorjeers* = the pox, or with a pox. But the corrupt pronunciation caused it to be looked on as a sort of innocent oath or exclamation. This is shown by Harsnet's *Popish Impostures*, 1603, where at page 165—"Who [*i. e.* the devil to give forth oracles according to these impostures] being always ready to command by *Mengus* his whip, his club . . . . or an exorcists holy hands . . . . and hauing his tail wel fizled with brimstone . . . . afore, what a **good-yéere** needs all this leuel coyle and stirre, for determinating of councils, resolutions of Popes, allegations of Fathers [&c]." I say this quotation proves it (1) Because there is no accord between the original meaning and the subject. (2) Because Harsnet was a clergyman who though facetious in his ridicule was not, as his writings testify, in any way given to the use of oaths. The words *good-year* should not be changed to *goujeer* as it is in some modern copies.—*B. N.*

occupy, vb. : 2 *Hen. VI.*, II. iv. 161. Many, out of their owne obscene apprehensions, refuse proper and fit words; as *occupie*, *nature*, and the like : So the curious industry in some of having all alike good, hath come neerer a vice, then a virtue. Ben Jonson. *Discoveries*, p. 112, ed. 1640.

(*Seventy-sixth Meeting, Friday, February* 10, 1882.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Rev. M. W. Mayow read a short paper upon the subject of What are the dozen or sixteen lines, which Hamlet proposed to insert in the Sub-Play?

He said that this matter having been already more than once before the Society, it might appear too bold in him again to introduce it; but that, as he had not found himself able to agree with any view which had been already propounded, he hoped he should be excused in offering a few remarks.

He proceeded to observe that the previous views seemed to lay down, as essential conditions for finding the lines:

(1) That they must be a dozen or sixteen;

(2) That they must be such as suit Hamlet's character and tone of mind;

(3) That they must be such as, being an interpolation, may be omitted, and still leave the action of the Play unaffected by the erasure;

(4) That they must be of a nature to catch the conscience of the King;

(5) That they must have in them what may be illustrated by Hamlet's directions to the Players in Act III.

Hereon Mr Mayow remarked that with two of the above conditions he entirely agreed—the second and the fourth—but that from the other three he must dissent.

For, as to the exact number of the lines, though no doubt when the Prince named a dozen or sixteen to the Players, he conceived such small number would answer his purpose, yet it would be entirely to overlook his general character, to suppose that he would restrict himself to that number if his subject grew upon him and he felt disposed to expand it. His versatility and imagination, and his whole genius were too great and varied to let him feel he was so tied down, or to give him the least difficulty in enlarging his views in any way that struck him. And this remark also disposed of the third condition, for if Hamlet wrote more, the lines would be less of the nature of an insertion or interpolation, as would appear further in the sequel; whilst as to the fifth condition, it seemed to be of little or no weight, as in the first place, Hamlet's, which of course are also Shakspere's directions to the Players, are far more general and less particular than as meant to apply only to this occasion; and secondly, it is very possible, as the Play is interrupted by the King's abrupt

departure, that the further lines of the piece might have given scope for the thunders of a "robustious periwig-pated fellow," who would "tear a passion to tatters" in over-acting his part.

Mr Mayow then brought the Sub-Play in its various parts under survey; and remarked that the opening speeches of the Player-King and Queen were just those by which Hamlet might be expected to introduce the further action, as well as a means by which he might prick the conscience of the Queen, an object which he manifestly had at heart (as he says, "Wormwood! Wormwood!"), as well as to catch the conscience of the King.

Proceeding to the long speech of the Reflections of the Player-King, beginning with—

"I do believe you think what now you speak;"

he observed, that though it was quite true, as had been remarked by Mr Malleson, Gervinus, and others, that it had nothing at all in it to catch the conscience of the King, but reflected upon his own character, or the general fickleness of purpose of men and women, yet the lines were eminently characteristic of Hamlet's turn of mind, and could hardly be attributed to any other; whilst the fact that they contain no single word to unkennel the King's occulted guilt, seems an absolutely fatal objection to Professor Seeley's view, that in that speech the dozen or sixteen lines are to be found. If these were what Hamlet wrote, and all he inserted, the actual purpose of the Play would be entirely overlooked and set aside.

Mr Mayow then adverted briefly to the motives which induced Hamlet (over and above "here's metal more attractive") to cross over and lie down at Ophelia's feet; viz. (1) that he desired to be 'idle' (as he says), non-chalant, and unconscious, whilst his test was to go on, and (2) that he desired to be at the other side of the stage from the King and Queen, the better to observe and mark the effect of his scheme. Passing to the entry speech and actions of Lucianus, the nephew of Gonzago, he expressed his conviction that here, beginning with "Thoughts black, hands apt, drugs fit, and time agreeing," would be the particular one speech whereby, as he had told Horatio, he expected the King's "occulted guilt to be unkenneled." But he could see no reason to let this speech be considered the whole of Hamlet's composition. Its consisting of only six lines instead of a dozen or sixteen might not be an objection of much weight, for of course it might have run on ten or a dozen more if the Play had proceeded; but upon the internal evidence of all the speeches, he (Mr Mayow) had felt he could come to no other conclusion than that Hamlet wrote the whole of the Sub-Play as we have it. The fact that the Play mentioned had not come down to us, might indeed make it difficult to make a demonstration of this; but, as had been observantly remarked by Mr Malleson, the very exactness of the parallel between the poisoning in the Sub-Play and the real murder

of his father as revealed to Hamlet by the Ghost, is a very weighty argument to make it probable that Hamlet, as Mr Malleson thinks, very materially altered the play of the murder of Gonzago; or, as Mr Mayow would say, that he discarded the old Play (with the exception of the names, and the near relationship of the murderer to the King, and the promised continuance of the story, "You shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife"), and rewrote the whole just as it suited his purpose and object; not at all confining himself to the dozen or sixteen lines which at first he had intended; nor to an *interpolation* of a speech, but produced a piece of his own, with all its speeches and reflections, such as might answer his ends, and the whole of which was eminently marked by the characteristics of his own mind and disposition.

The more I think of it (Mr Mayow concluded) the more am I persuaded that my theory is the true one. Examine the Sub-Play speech by speech, paragraph by paragraph, and line by line; take of each the sense, the aim, the tone of mind; and I feel sure Hamlet is the only author and parent of all. So strong is my conviction of this, that I will venture to adopt, if I may without too much arrogance, an emphatic remark from another play: "Nay! it is ten times true; for truth is truth, to the end of reckoning."

A vote of thanks having been unanimously passed to Mr Mayow for his paper,

Mr Furnivall said, that of course we were dealing with mere conjectures; but he did not agree with Mr Mayow. Why must we accept, as the imaginary work of such a mind as Hamlet's, the very poor stuff which the Sub-Play was composed of? There was no ground for Mr Mayow's supposition.

Dr Nicholson said that it all went on the theory that there was a real play called "the mouse-trap." He agreed with Mr Mayow's first condition, but not with his fourth or second. No part of the Sub-Play seemed to him to call forth Hamlet's previous criticisms. In especial there is no Clown. Hence, he must hold to what he had previously said, and to what had been so ably set forth by Dr Ingleby. Shakspere wanted a peg on which to affix his criticisms on the rival players, and wished to give more verisimilitude to the fact that Hamlet's murder and Gonzago's were brought about in the same manner and from similar causes.

Dr Bayne thought that it was a delicate point of criticism; it was quite possible that Shakspere might have taken a point from a play that suited him. But we might fairly suppose that there was no such play; the question then was, with what object did Shakspere write it?

Mr Harrison did not believe that Shakspere meant his audience to understand that "the conscience of the King" was to be caught by Hamlet's "dozen or sixteen" inserted lines. Hamlet certainly never said so; and the very contrary seemed to be implied. The

King's conscience was to be caught by the representation of *the play;* the *play* is "the mouse-trap" to effect the capture. His "occulted guilt" was to "unkennel itself" in one scene and in one speech; that, namely, by Lucianus, "Thoughts black," &c. And so it did. The scene, had it not been abruptly ended by the King's departure, would have gone on to show how Lucianus got "the love of Gonzago's wife." But that this was no part of Hamlet's invention we were expressly told by himself. "THE STORY," he says, "*is extant*, and writ in choice Italian." In other words, the Sub-Play was supposed to *follow the incidents of an existing novel;* this special incident of the poisoning in the garden being particularly alluded to by Hamlet as forming a part of that novel. And as regarded the wording of Lucianus' speech, it was in strict keeping with the rest of the Sub-Play; stilted and bombastic, in the Tamburlaine and Hieronimo style. Hamlet's inserted lines were meant, Mr H. believed, to serve quite a different purpose: to divert the attention of his audience *from* the King till the right time should arrive for the catastrophe, viz. when the story, as it unfolded itself, got to the poisoning scene. The wonder was, as Prof. Seeley remarked, that the King could allow matters to go so far as they did, and why he did not stop the Play when he saw the dumb show. The inserted lines also admirably served to illustrate Hamlet's satirizing vein. They read a lesson to his mother, as has been pointed out (*Transactions*, Part II, 1874, page 490). Her character and conduct were not obscurely hit at in the lines (190-194), "The world is not for aye . . . fortune love." His own vacillation of purpose was admirably described (ll. 178-186) —"Purpose is but the slave . . . . purpose lose."

Above all, were not Rosencrantz and Guildenstern pointedly alluded to in ll. 194-240—"The great man down," &c.? How exactly were these lines the re-echo of what Hamlet had said, at the very moment when he determined to write the speech (II. ii. 346)— "It is not very strange; for my uncle is king in Denmark, and they that would make mows at him while my father lived, give twenty, forty, fifty, a hundred ducats a-piece, for his picture in little." Hamlet in his "want" had "tried" his "hollow friends," and found them fail him. Mr H. believed then, that (ll. 178-200) "Purpose is but the slave" . . . . "seasons him his enemy," were meant to represent the insertion. The sense of the speech was complete without them; they were utterly dissimilar in style from the rest of the Sub-Play; they were in the philosophizing style of Hamlet, and therefore just what Shakspere might write if he wished to represent the Prince composing something of his own. Moreover, Shakspere, as Mr H. believed, purposely showed us where the "join" was, viz. at line 200, "But orderly to end where I begun." The whole of the insertion was an expansion of the thought, "What we do determine oft we break,"—a sermon of which that was the text. Hamlet hit all round; and, characteristically, did not even spare himself.

It was a curious coincidence, that these lines appeared in Q2, but were not in Q1. They might have been wanting in the copy of the actors' parts from which Q1 was made up.

DR LANDMANN then read his paper on "Shakspere and Euphuism; Euphuism adapted from the Spanish Guevara." (This paper is printed separately, and has been issued to members.)

In the discussion which followed a unanimous vote of thanks,

MR FURNIVALL said that this paper marked an epoch in the criticism of English literature. It showed—for the first time he believed—the preponderating influence of Spanish literature on the early Elizabethan; and it showed clearly that it was *not* Euphuism that Shakspere ridiculed in *Love's Labour's Lost*, though most of us had thought it was. But Guevara, Dr Landmann acknowledged, was one of the best known and most translated authors of the day; why then was not Lyly found out and exposed in his adaptation? Simply because every one cribbed then, and to crib well was thought an honour and praise to an author.

DR BAYNE remarked that Dr Landmann had thrown a most important light on the forces that influenced Shakspere and others, and it was especially interesting to learn the share Spain had in it.

DR NICHOLSON had never been able to believe that Euphuism had been ridiculed in *Love's Labour's Lost*. To him it appeared very noteworthy that Shakspere in his earlier plays had neither imitated nor ridiculed it. He must have been brought up on Guevara, Lyly, and Greene, and his non-imitation of them, especially as their style became the fashionable mode of converse, shows a dislike to it, and an independence of mind unusual in so young an author. That he did not ridicule it is, perhaps, due to "all the ladies of England being then Lyly's scholars." This supposition also seems confirmed by the Euphuism in Falstaff's speech, for the fashion was then probably dying out, or obsolete, and Falstaff (especially in that speech) the representative of an old-fashioned old world courtier.

SCRAPS.

Poor, a.: *Hamlet*, I. v. 185. 'So poor a man as Hamlet is.' See Lodge's *Phillis*, 1593 A.D., Sonnet xl, Sign. H 3.

> "Resembling none, and none so poore as I.
> Poore to the world, and poore in each esteeme,
> Whose first borne loues, at first obscurd did die,
> And bred no fame but flame of base misdeeme.
> Vnder the Ensigne of vvhose tyred pen,
> Loues legions forth haue maskt, by others masked:
> Thinke hovv I lyue, wronged by ill tongèd men,
> Not Maister of my selfe, to all vvrongs tasked."

(*Seventy-Seventh Meeting, Friday, March* 10, 1882.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

A paper upon *As You Like It* and Lodge's novel of 'Rosalynde' compared, by W. G. Stone, Esq., was read by Rev. W. A. Harrison. (*This paper is printed separately, in full.*)

In the discussion which followed,

Mr Furnivall remarked upon the value of such comparisons, which illustrated Shakspere's art by showing the changes he made on his originals. Had Shakspere enjoyed the advantages of a modern stage, he would have kept that incident of Lodge's, of the attack on Saladyne's house by his brother, as agreeing with the violent beginning of the play, and contrasting with the peaceful continuation and end. It was interesting to notice this instance of the villainy practised on younger brothers or minors by their guardians in those days. There was systematic plunder going on: a minor would have a guardian appointed him by the king, and this guardian would try to make as much as he could out of the estate, and also to make as much as possible out of his ward's *marriage*.

Dr Nicholson thought that in all stories of the sort and date of 'Rosalynde,' though the plot might be good, the characterization was almost *nil*. He quite believed in Celia's natural love for Oliver, and in the repentance of the latter, who was good at bottom.

This subject, of Oliver's and Celia's betrothal, was discussed by Miss Phipson, Miss Marx, and Mrs Wedmore.

Dr Bayne then read one or two short notes on "Some recent characterizations by Mr Ruskin of Shakspere's heroines." Mr Ruskin's words, in 'Proserpina,' Pt VII, are the following:

"It may be well quickly to mark for you the levels of loving temper in Shakspeare's maids and wives, from the greatest to the least.

"1. Isabel. All earthly love, and the possibilities of it, held in absolute subjection to the laws of God, and the judgments of His will. She is Shakspeare's only 'Saint.' Queen Catherine, whom you might next think of, is only an ordinary woman of trained religious temper:—her maid of honour gives Wolsey a more Christian epitaph.

"2. Cordelia. The earthly love consisting in diffused compassion of the universal spirit; not in any conquering, personally fixed, feeling.

'Mine enemy's dog,
Though he had bit me, should have stood that night
Against my fire.'

These lines are spoken in her hour of openest direct expression; and are *all* Cordelia.

"Shakspeare clearly does not mean her to have been supremely beautiful in person; it is only her true lover who calls her "fair" and "fairest"—and even that, I believe, partly in courtesy, after having the instant before offered her to his subordinate duke; and it is only *his* scorn of her which makes France fully care for her.

'Gods, gods, 'tis strange that from their cold neglect
My love should kindle to inflamed respect!'

Had she been entirely beautiful, he would have honoured her as a lover should, even before he saw her despised; nor would she ever have been so despised—or by her father, misunderstood. Shakspeare himself does not pretend to know where her girl-heart was—but I should like to hear how a great actress would say the 'Peace be with Burgundy!'

"3. Portia. The maidenly passion now becoming great, and chiefly divine in its humility, is still held absolutely subordinate to duty; no thought of disobedience to her dead father's intention is entertained for an instant, though the temptation is marked as passing for that instant, before her crystal strength. Instantly, in her own peace, she thinks chiefly of her lover's;—she is a perfect Christian wife in a moment, coming to her husband with the gift of perfect Peace,—

'Never shall you lie by Portia's side
With an unquiet soul.'

She is highest in intellect of all Shakspeare's women, and this is the root of her modesty; her 'unlettered girl' is like Newton's simile of the child on the sea-shore. Her perfect wit and stern judgment are never disturbed for an instant by her happiness: and the final key to her character is given in her silent and slow return from Venice, where she stops at every wayside shrine to pray.

"4. Hermione. Fortitude and justice personified with unwearying affection. She is Penelope tried by her husband's fault as well as error.

"5. Virgilia. Perfect type of wife and mother, but without definiteness of character, nor quite strength of intellect enough entirely to hold her husband's heart. Else she had saved him: he would have left Rome in his wrath—but not her. Therefore, it is his mother only who bends him: but she cannot save.

"6. Imogen. The ideal of grace and gentleness; but weak; enduring too mildly, and forgiving too easily. But the piece is rather a pantomime than a play, and it is impossible to judge of the feelings of St Columba, when she must leave the stage in half a minute after mistaking the headless clown for headless Arlecchino.

"7. Desdemona, Ophelia, Rosalind. They are under different conditions from all the rest in having entirely heroic and faultless persons to love. I can't class them, therefore,—fate is too strong, and leaves them no free will.

"8. Perdita, Miranda. Rather mythic visions of maiden beauty than mere girls.

"9. Viola and Juliet. Love the ruling power in the entire character: wholly virginal and pure, but quite earthly, and recognizing no other life than his own. Viola is, however, far the noblest. Juliet will die unless Romeo loves *her:* "If he be wed, the grave is like to be my wedding bed;" but Viola is ready to die for the happiness of the man who does *not* love her; faithfully doing his messages to her rival, whom she examines strictly for his sake. It is not in envy that she says, 'Excellently done,—if God did all." The key to her character is given in the least selfish of all lover's songs, the one to which the Duke bids her listen:

'Mark it, Cesario,—it is old and plain,
The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids, *that weave their thread with bones,*
Do use to chaunt it.'

(They, the unconscious Fates, weaving the fair vanity of life with death); and the burden of it is—

'My part of Death, no one so true
Did share it.'

Therefore she says, in the great first scene, 'Was not *this* love indeed?' and in the less heeded closing one, her heart then happy with the knitters in the *sun*,

'And all those sayings will I overswear,
And all those swearings keep as true in soul,
As doth that orbed continent the Fire
That severs day from night.'

Or, at least, did once sever day from night,—and perhaps does still in Illyria. Old England must seek new images for her loves from gas and electric sparks,—not to say furnace fire.

"I am obliged, by press of other work, to set down these notes in cruel shortness: and many a reader may be disposed to question utterly the standard by which the measurement is made. It will not be found, on reference to my other books, that they encourage young ladies to go into convents; or undervalue the dignity of wives and mothers. But as surely as the sun *does* sever day from night, it will be found always that the noblest and loveliest women are dutiful and religious by continual nature; and their passions are trained to obey them, like their dogs. Homer, indeed, loves Helen with all his heart, and restores her, after all her naughtiness, to the queenship of her household; but he never thinks of her as Penelope's equal, or Iphigenia's. Practically, in daily life, one often sees

married women as good as saints; but rarely, I think, unless they have a good deal to bear from their husbands. Sometimes also, no doubt, the husbands have some trouble in managing St Cecilia, or St Elizabeth; of which questions I shall be obliged to speak more seriously in another place: content, at present, if English maids know better, by Proserpina's help, what Shakspeare meant by the dim, and Milton by the glowing violet."

On these passages Dr Bayne's notes were as follows:

"1. *Isabel.* Yes: she has the hardness—the austerity—of ascetic saintship. Shakspere is careful not to make her amiable. She has no sympathy with her brother in his weakness—in his wish to live—not an unpardonable weakness, one would say. There is what seems even an unnecessary harshness—a lack of sensibility—in her dealings with her brother. When Claudio asks her what comfort she has brought him from her interview with Angelo, she answers in what seems a tone of cruel jest. No doubt Shakspere may have intended to represent her as in a state of semi-frantic bewilderment and confusion of thought, on account of Angelo's proposal, similar to that into which Hamlet was thrown by the appearance of his father's ghost, and which he expressed in a weird, unmirthful mirth. But in Isabella it grates on us, I think, more than even in Hamlet.

Claudio. 'Now, sister, what's the comfort?
Isabella. Why, as all comforts are; most good in deed:
Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,
Intends you for his swift ambassador,
Where you shall be an everlasting lieger:
Therefore your best appointment make with speed;
To-morrow you set on.'

Then when, in an agony of earnestness, he entreats her to save him, 'sweet sister, let me live,' she answers thus:

'O, you beast,
O, faithless coward! O, dishonest wretch!
. . . . . .
Take my defiance:
Die; perish! might but my bending down
Reprieve thee from thy fate, it should proceed:
I'll pray a thousand prayers for thy death,
No word to save thee.'

"This surely is harder than was necessary. In her pleading for him she is always ready to content herself with doing the *least* that can be required to satisfy the necessities of her position. Again and again she is on the point of retiring after receiving a denial. Lucio keeps her to her work, urging her to persist. Even Angelo has some slight difficulty in preventing her from retiring the moment he says her brother cannot live. But her intellectual discernment is always keen and clear. In finally pleading for Angelo, she nicely distin-

guishes between criminal breaking of a law by actual deed and the mere intention to break a law. We may conclude that Shakspere purposed to show, in the character, that conventual virtue exerts a chilling influence on natural affection,—probably also that the Church ideal of saintliness assigns too high a place to chastity.[1]

"2. *Portia.* In attractiveness—in combination of gifts and graces—beauty, intellect, affection, eloquence, geniality, vivacity, perhaps the first of Shakspere's women. The one a man would best like to have for a wife. She has not a trace of the marble-cold austerity of Isabel. To associate her 'unlessoned girl'—not 'unlettered,' as Mr Ruskin has it—with Newton's simile of the child on the sea-shore, is to rise over the facts on the wings of imagination. The context of Portia's words, in which she expatiates on her lowliness and docility, not in relation to the infinitude of truth, but to her husband, is incompatible with Mr Ruskin's hypothesis.[2] Nor is it possible to accept Mr Ruskin's final key to her character. This, he says, is 'given in her silent and slow return from Venice, where she stops at every wayside shrine to pray.' In support of his opinion Mr Ruskin would doubtless refer, first, to Stephano's announcement of his mistress's approach—

> 'My mistress will before the break of day
> Be here at Belmont; she doth stray about
> By holy crosses, where she kneels and prays
> For happy wedlock hours.
> *Lorenzo.* Who comes with her?
> *Stephano.* None but a holy hermit and her maid.'

And secondly, to what Portia herself says when Lorenzo welcomes her home:

> 'We have been praying for our husbands' welfare,
> Which speed, we hope, the better for our words.'

"But in order to estimate the seriousness of Portia's shrine-visiting and praying during her return, we must recollect that, before leaving Belmont for Venice, in order to keep Lorenzo and Jessica in the dark as to the object of her journey, she adopted a particular device.

> 'I have toward heaven breathed a secret vow,
> To live in prayer and contemplation,
> Only attended by Nerissa here,
> Until her husband and my lord's return:
> There is a monastery two miles off,
> And there we will abide.'

"To secure success in the jest of the rings, it was necessary that

[1] So thinks the curate in Mallock's *Paul and Virginia*, after being converted from Christianity.—G. Collingwood.

[2] Mr Ruskin means, "Portia admits that Intellect is inadequate to *Love's* lore," just as Newton confesses its inadequacy to *Nature's*.—G. Collingwood.

Lorenzo and Jessica should remain in ignorance that Portia and Nerissa had been at Venice instead of in the monastery, and the statement as to the praying at shrines was perfectly adapted to maintain the deception.[1] There is not only no hint of such prayerful intentions, but, on the contrary, an air of urgency and promptitude difficult to reconcile with it, in Portia's words to Nerissa, when they are on the point of leaving Venice.

'We'll away to-night,
And be a day before our husbands home.'

Fibs are of course legitimate in the carrying out of jests. But if there is gradation in the morality of fibs, one would say that fibs affecting things so solemn as religious vows, as contemplation, as prayer, are of the grey rather than the white variety. Viewed in connection with all that we otherwise learn respecting Portia, the words on which Mr Ruskin depends afford evidence that the religious element was *not* strong in her character. Her devoutness, sincere as it was, betrayed no trace of exaggeration, or even of accentuation. It had its place in the general harmony of her nature,—one of the many angels singing in her breast; her breast a temple, not cloistral and ecclesiastical, but open to the blue sky and to the untrammelled sunlight."[2]

Mr Furnivall, Miss Phipson, and Miss Marx joined in objecting to the classification of Viola and Juliet together; and Miss Marx insisted that Cordelia must have been beautiful, or else her sisters would not have hated her so.

[1] Though the monastery was fictitious, there is no proof that the shrines are so. The ladies, starting earlier and by coach, reach Belmont only a few minutes before the rest: while Stephano, the avantcourier, arrives a good while before his mistress, leaving her plenty of time for her prayers.—G. Collingwood.

[2] One must remember that Portia is a Venetian of the Renaissance described by an Englishman of the Renaissance. This sliding-scale of fibbery and rationalistic nature-worship are French ideas of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. It is a sociological anachronism to apply them here. A woman in Portia's circumstances could unite mediæval religious observances with all the grotesque fun of the cinquecento. See Molmenti, *Vie Privée à Venise*, II. 13.—G. Collingwood.

As the tone of Mr Collingwood's notes has been taken to suggest—tho needlessly, I think—the notion that Dr Bayne or any of us who have for years lovd and respected Mr Ruskin, were "attacking" him, and that Mr Collingwood was repelling an attack, I just say that nothing was further from our thoughts. It was only because of Dr Bayne's long-standing regard for Mr Ruskin and his opinions, and because of his acknowledgd eminence, and the freshness, brilliance, and suggestiveness of his characterization, in the main, that Dr Bayne brought the matter forward. He then wisht Mr Ruskin to see his comments before they were issued, and I sent the proof on to Brantwood; but the doctors having orderd Mr Ruskin to be kept quiet, Mr Collingwood added a few notes of his own, "just to show that Dr Bayne's criticism had not passed unchallenged." And so the matter ended with the friendliest possible feeling on all sides.—F. J. Furnivall.

As to Isabel's hardness, Mr Furnivall said we must recollect that she was in intent a nun, one who regarded personal chastity as almost the chief virtue. She was sent to plead for her brother who had committed an offence against his own chastity and that of his own lady-love, and when Angelo said "he must die," she was at once obliged by her conscience to acknowledge the justice of this.

With reference to that part of Mr Stone's paper which deals with Orlando's behaviour to Rosalind at their first meeting, Mr Harrison writes:—

"This is the only point on which I venture to differ from Mr Stone. I think that, in justice to Rosader, I should read the passage from Lodge. Was not this sonnet the best, nay, the only return that Rosader could make to Rosalynde? Saladyne had taken good care to keep him in an impecunious state. It is, I think, open to question whether Orlando's utter silence about the chain does not contrast unfavourably with Rosader's intense appreciation of the jewel, which he values higher than the sole monarchy of the world. Shakspere means Orlando to be modest, and to be struck dumb with his passion; but does he not seem to have made him too much of 'a lifeless block'? And by so doing does this not make it appear as if all the advances came from Rosalind; and that too at a time when she was still the second lady in the court, and a duke's daughter?

"Of course, later on, when she has assumed the 'doublet and hose,' it is strictly in keeping with the situation that she should speak 'like a saucy lackey.' But at this time, for her to tell Orlando that he has 'overthrown more than his enemies,'—even if it were Leap-year,—seems to me to make Rosalind too mannish; while his *utter silence* makes Orlando less manly than one would like.

"Woman is 'apter to love,' says Rosalind in Shakspere, 'than to confess she does.' 'At the time when, under the impulse of the moment, she discovered herself to Orlando, she gave the lie to this her own rule.'—Gervinus's 'Sh. Comm.,' 1875, p. 397."—W. A. H.

To this Mr Stone replies:—

"Since Lodge preferred that Rosalynd should send her gift by a messenger, a sonnet was not only the best return which Rosader could make, but, in the judgment of his day, he might have been deemed lacking in courtesy if he had requited her with plain prose. As Shakspere brought the lovers together at this early stage of their relations, I submit, in excuse for Orlando's dumbness, that, (α) besides being under the influence of an overmastering joy, he had been bred 'rustically at home,' and might therefore be reasonably supposed to want the readiness and happy audacity which a youth accustomed to court-life and the society of great ladies is enabled to acquire; (β) that it had been presumptuous in Orlando to declare his passion to one who was 'the second lady in the court and a duke's daughter'; and this being so, the present case forms an exception to the rule in these matters."—W. G. S.

(*Seventy-Eighth Meeting, Friday, April* 14, 1882.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

Dr Peter Bayne read a paper on "Shakspere's Characters contrasted with those of George Eliot." Claiming that all great modern writers had been influenced by Shakspere, and were, to some extent, his pupils, Dr Bayne noted the change from drama to novel as the medium of expression of popular writers. Had Shakspere lived now, he would, in the outset at least, have written novels, not dramas: no Englishman of letters of the first order, since his time, had made his chief appeal through the stage; the public of Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray was sought, not that of Robertson and Burnand. Yet the best novel was something not far different from the best drama "writ large." Both Shakspere and George Eliot delighted in psychological analysis and in solving subtle problems of character; she, therefore, might have had signal success in writing out his dramas into novels. To George Eliot the experiences of Macbeth, who "could not say amen," and of Claudius, who could not pray, would have been eminently intelligible. She dealt with mixed characters, like Bulstrode in *Middlemarch*. She, if any one, could have written out *All's Well* into a novel. Helena's rather startling character and history would not have perplexed her, for Helena's object in life was, like Dorothea's, to make the joy of another soul. Was Browning's view true—that woman's supreme wish was to absorb herself in the man she would make noble, though he were not so? Or was woman's ideal a union of the powers of mother with those of wife? Helena's ideal combined the two.

Shakspere belonged to an age of Faith; George Eliot to an age of Scepticism. His men and women were more broadly and permanently typical than hers. Dorothea, Casaubon, and Will Ladislaw were distinctive of the nineteenth century. She believed in the influence of blood and race, as in Fedalma. So did Shakspere: Perdita was a lady, though brought up by peasants. She felt the symbolism of gems; Shakspere that of flowers. He held the mirror up to human nature in stable equilibrium; she, to it in comparatively unstable. She was the champion of women—Maynard Gilfil, Adam Bede and Savonarola were her only heroes—and never showed the "mystery of feminine malignity." Her works were largely an indictment of men in favour of women. This was not like Shakspere's truth and fairness to both sexes. Her "note" was the working out of neutral, indirect influences as modifying character, and her special power that of tracing the imperceptible stages in the progress of evil: witness Arthur Donnithorne and Maggie Tulliver, Bulstrode and Tito. The origin of evil with Shakspere was generally temptation, as with Angelo and Macbeth; or innate badness, as with Iago and Richard III. Many folk in reading of Tito felt that they *must* have taken

the first step with him, and could not tell how they could have stopped short. With George Eliot, man was more of a drift-log, swayed hither and thither by the tide of circumstance, than with Shakspere. He knew the worth of will in man, that 'twas in *ourselves*, not in our stars, if we were underlings. All his heroes had a feeling of God, knew that there was a divine vengeance and a moral law. He apprehended religion more definitely than Goethe or George Eliot. Since his time, some things that he did had been better done by other men and women; but his largeness and greatness were unapproached; he wore the crown of the literature of the world.

Mr Furnivall thought this a most brilliant and interesting paper. As to the difference of treatment of things between Shakspere and George Eliot, Shakspere could not have, in the rapid action of the drama, any such minute analysis of character as was possible in the slower development of the novel. Shakspere, too, dealt with things as a man; Miss Evans as a woman. As to whether Shakspere, if he lived now, would have preferred to write novels, Mr F. doubted: was it not a fact that novels had not the lasting power of dramas? Shakspere, like George Eliot, had no heroes: his nearest was Brutus. Of men's imperfections he knew too much; but, naturally, he did not know so much of women as of men; so he drew most of his women perfect, and they were the triumphs of his art.

Mr Joseph Knight did not believe that there was any woman in the world that would accept Shakspere's women as they would George Eliot's; it was also his firm opinion that there had never been in the world any man at any time who knew anything at all about any woman. In Shakspere's women all their abstract good qualities were laid open for our inspection; but he gave us the most real women in the worst. George Eliot, as a woman, knew a woman's heart, and could do for them what Shakspere did for men.

Miss Phipson held that Shakspere was a thorough partizan of his sex; and this was always behind his characters of women.

Rev. W. A. Harrison quoted from *As You Like It*. *Orl.* "Can you remember any of the principal evils that he laid to the charge of women?" *Ros.* "There were none principal; they were all like one another, as half-pence are; every one fault seeming monstrous, till its fellow fault came to match it."

Dr Jusserand did not agree with Mr Furnivall in putting the novelist below the dramatist. In France at the present day they held the drama to be the lower; there was so much more of the sensuous, of the appealing to ear and eye alone, in the drama.

Miss Latham pointed out that a drama required action; at the end of every act the action of the play must be advanced a stage; hence there was no time for the characterization that was found in a novel.

Dr Bayne, in replying, noticed one delicate touch of Shakspere's; that when Angelo found that he had no murder on his soul, we only heard that there was "a quickening in his eye." A novelist could have

worked this out in a volume of psychological analysis and illustrative incident; but if Shakspere had been wrong in this, he would have been wrong in all, and the touch required more genius than the volume.

(*Seventy-ninth Meeting, May* 12, 1882.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The REV. W. A. HARRISON, M.A., read a paper upon "cursed Hebona." (*This is printed separately, in full.*)

MR FURNIVALL admired the way in which Mr Harrison had got new matter together. He had produced most interesting medical evidence, and his arguments must be taken as quite conclusive as to the meaning of "hebona." Of course the reading "hebona" would be adopted in Miss Teena Smith's Parallel-Text *Hamlet* and the Society's *Old-Spelling Shakspere*, as in both, the revized text would be founded on Quarto 2.

DR BAYNE agreed that the evidence was quite conclusive.

DR B. NICHOLSON was of opinion that if we continued our research we should find that Shakspere was quoting the words of some old medical treatise, in the same way as he quotes the words of Holinshed, &c. on matters of history.

MISS LATHAM suggested that we might find some information on the subject in witch-lore; and quoted "Slips of yew, sliver'd in the moon's eclipse."[1]

A paper on *Macbeth*, by Mr J. C. Gibson, of the Glasgow Monday Shakspere Club, was then read from the chair. Mr Gibson said that in *Hamlet* we heard the wail of one who found the time to be out of joint. In *Measure for Measure* we had a bitter satire on man's imagined superiority to temptation. In *Othello* we saw the fatal consequences of the virulent poison of jealousy. Yet there were still lilies among the thorns, and beautiful characters among the sin and misery. But in Macbeth the blackest phases of life were dealt with. Light seemed to have left the world, and the convulsed state of the natural world seemed typical of the moral. Shakspere had given us in this play a study of "life's fitful fever," which must interest us. There were no perplexing psychological puzzles propounded; the thoughts and actions were all stated with bold certainty and clearness. When we first saw Macbeth, the tide of life was running high in him; he had just returned from the wars in the full flush of victory, and was one whom the king delighted to honour. But there was no strength in his character, and when suddenly confronted by temptation he yielded to it. In Lady Macbeth's character there was no vacillation; not for one moment

[1] A Paper on this subject read a short time since by Mr W. G. Black before the Monday Shakspere Club, will be printed in *The Antiquary*. Mr Black's purpose was to show how Shakspere's text might be elucidated by the study of folklore.

did she hesitate. This extraordinary woman was endowed by nature with all that might have made her a powerful curb upon this blind rush of evil. Such a concentration of sheer intellectual force, such invincible will-power, no other character of Shakspere's possessed, except Richard III. Like his, all her splendid faculties were arrayed on the side of evil. Did not the description of their castle's seat, where "Heaven's breath smells wooingly," and where in every jutty, frieze and buttress, the martlet "hath made his pendent bed and procreant cradle," seem an emblem of Lady Macbeth's suggestion, "look like the innocent flower, but be the serpent under it." Lady Macbeth knew the full compass of the instrument she had to play upon, when she sarcastically twitted him with want of courage. When on the verge of committing the crime Macbeth suddenly encountered Banquo, he controlled himself sufficiently to feign perfect calmness; he played the hypocrite perfectly; he almost touched Piero de Cosimo's criterion of a perfect traitor (*Romola*, Chap. IV.), who "should have a face which vice can write no mark on —lips that will lie with a dimpled smile—eyes of such agate-like brightness and depth that no infamy can dull them—cheeks that will rise from a murder and not look haggard." What a deep look Shakspere allowed us into this man's soul just before he murdered the king! Then, as we stood riveted with horror at the appalling deed, we were suddenly startled back to consciousness by the jarring "knock, knock, knock," which gave rise to the porter's grim jests. Instead of this comic scene being strangely out of place as some commentators said, Shakspere was sternly true to nature here. We forgot, when our senses were strung to this high pitch of excitement, that life was "a perpetual see-saw between gravity and jest,"—that the world's pulse was beating its even time, and could not wait for us to sound the deep mysteries of its moral anomalies. Thus, we felt a strange grating on our senses when brought face to face with ordinary life again. Here Lady Macbeth's unswerving resolution and caution alone saved them. When Lady Macbeth discovered the cause of her lord's depression, she counselled him as Jezebel did her lord—"Arise and eat bread, and let thine heart be merry." If solitude could not calm Macbeth's tossing brain, surely a temporary lull would be found in the whirl of a crowded hour's glorious life; but Banquo's ghost broke the fascinating spell, and like Belshazzar, when he saw the handwriting on the wall, Macbeth's "countenance was changed," and "his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other." Here his wife's tact again rescued him. As long as her will had the full sweep of its power, she could do anything; but let us look at her without her will-power, in the sleep-walking scene. Browning made one of his characters say "strange secrets are let out by Death!" So there are by Death's image—sleep. The closing scenes of Macbeth's life were fitting sequences of the past. Like Saul at his wits' end, he sought

the witches, and their first revelations infused momentary life and hope into him. But these "sweet bodements" had hardly bloomed when they faded.

Macbeth now became a pessimist. His wife's death hardly touched him; it was merely another proof of the wearying monotony of time. Yet we do not expect his life will end in suicide; the inexorable laws of justice demanded satisfaction. Macbeth, like George Eliot's "Tito," from a man who at one time never thought of anything cruel or base, gradually slipped away from his better self, until at last he committed some of the vilest deeds which ever made man infamous. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth were terribly convincing proofs of the awful castigating powers of conscience. Their treacherously-won throne was reached only that they might find they were "perk'd up in a glist'ring grief and wore a golden sorrow."

A general discussion of the Play followed. Dr Bayne remarked that Shakspere had, in Macbeth, treated the problem of a character, naturally noble, succumbing to a great temptation. One of the temptations which most deeply tried superior natures was that of ambition,—often the glance of a crown. To this yielded the Roman virtue of Julius Cæsar; even Cromwell was shaken by it. The speeches in the sleep-walking scene appeared too connected and rational for a dream, though interesting as showing the two lives that man could lead, one in sleep, one awake.

Miss Latham thought that both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth had previously considered the possibility of such a murder.

Dr Nicholson thought that as Shakspere had showed in his other plays—*Henry V* for example—he knew that two consecutive dark scenes only neutralized the effects the one of the other, so this was one proof, among others, that the Porter scene was Shakspere's.

SCRAPS.

foreslow, v. t. delay: 3 *Hen. VI.*, II. iii. 56. "The Frier, being glad that his plot stood in so good terms, **foreslowed** not his businesse, but coming straight to her bed side . . told them that he must begin with holy shrift." 1607. R. C. Hy Stephen's *World of Wonders*, englisht, p. 180.—F.

Coast, v. i.: *Henry VIII.*, III. ii. 38. *Bag and baggage: As You Like It*, III. ii. "It is the fashion of vagabond players, that **coast** from Towne to Towne with a trusse[1] and a cast of fiddles, to carry in their consort, broken queanes, and *Ganimedes*, as well for their night pleasance, as their dayes pastime." 1603. S. Harsnet. *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*, p. 149.—B. N. (See this passage in a larger extract for '(devil's) *dam*' on p. 56, *Trans.* 1880-2.—F.)

[1] They remoued bagge, and baggage, as your wandring Players vse to doe. *ib.* p. 11.—F.

(*Eightieth Meeting, Friday, June* 9, 1882.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

Dr Nicholson read a paper entitled 'Was Hamlet Mad?' (The paper is printed separately, in full.) In the discussion which followed

Mr Furnivall said :—It is my duty as Chairman to ask you for a vote of thanks to Dr Nicholson for his ably argued Paper to-night. That given, as I see by your hands it is, my business as a student of Shakspere, is to urge you to reject the whole of the Doctor's arguments, tho' I am sure almost every one of you has already instinctively done so. There can be but few men or women in the world who wish to rob *Hamlet* of half its value, and to turn all the seeming contradictions and difficulties of Hamlet's words and character into the ravings and acts of a maniac, of no interest to any human being except his doctor and attendant, save to excite pity. If Hamlet was only a younger Lear, half mankind's interest in him would be gone. No doubt if Shakspere has clearly made his hero a madman, we must accept him as such; but we all know that our poet has done nothing of the kind. Occasionally "a mad doctor"—happy double meaning of the term!—has assured us that Hamlet was mad, and has printed a book to prove his assertion; but we have taken it as evidence that the doctor himself wanted medical treatment, or at least, a quieting of his professional cry "there is nothing like leather". But now, our friend Dr Nicholson, who is not technically "a mad doctor," comes forward and tells us that Hamlet is really a "case" of mania. Luckily he gives us the evidence for his opinion.

What does the main part of this evidence amount to? Simply that on a difficult occasion, when Hamlet had to excuse himself for a rude act and rude words, he told 'a Society lie'. The truth he told first to his friend Horatio: "I got into a towering passion with Laertes. I forgot myself." The Society lie, the excuse, he told Laertes: "I really didn't mean to offend you. I was mad when I said what I did." Who of us,—looking at the circumstances, and knowing what men do in like ones now,—can reasonably hold Hamlet—Hamlet the continual exaggerator—to his words as if they were his dying confession, or gospel, and bring in a verdict of 'Mad' against him? Before I could do it, I should have to take leave of my senses.

Undoubtedly Hamlet lied—if that is the right word for such conventional excuses—either to Laertes or to Horatio; and that he did so to Laertes and not Horatio, is to me clear. In my *Leopold Sh. Introduction* in 1874, I said, "We are glad that he [Hamlet] asks Laertes's pardon, sorry that he makes a lying excuse for his rudeness to him," p. lxxiii.

Take the other bits of the Doctor's evidence. Hamlet's behaviour after the Ghost's disclosures plainly springs from *hysteria*, not *mania*. His non-regret at the death of Polonius—who irritated and bord him, turnd Ophelia against him, and backt his father's murderer—was just what a self-absorbd man like Hamlet would feel. He had the indifference of his time and race to all other murders than that of Claudius; and his hesitation about that was necessary for his character in the 5-act play which Shakspere pland, where both Claudius and Hamlet had to die in the last scene. (Had Hamlet been Laertes, and cared for his father like Laertes did for Polonius, we should have had no play.) So also when Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were made safe: Hamlet only wanted them shunted; and he took the shortest means to get them out of his way.

As to Ophelia's description of Hamlet: who can trust her words to be anything like literally true? Discounting them, I hold that Hamlet having rezolvd to give up Ophelia, or at least, to test her, did, to some extent, act the madman before her; that he yet spoke kindly to her when he met her again; but when she returnd his gifts, he then turnd fiercely on her as if she had been no better than his mother; and he kept somewhat the same temper in the Play-scene. As to his exaggerated

> "I lov'd Ophelia: forty thousand brothers
> Could not, with all their quantity of love,
> Make up my sum",

I set it beside his

> "now could I drink hot blood,
> And do such bitter business as the day
> Would quake to look on" (III. ii. 373-5), &c., &c.

Moody men like Hamlet don't love as Othello lovd, or Romeo. Moreover, if Hamlet was mad when he jumpt into Ophelia's grave, and there and afterwards insulted Laertes, why was he sane when he utterd the 2½ lines abuv about Ophelia? The 'mad' advocates can't fairly sort the speeches in that scene into 'mad' and 'sane', and use one set to prove Hamlet's madness, and the other to prove his love for Ophelia. If his 'madness' made him jump into the grave and talk rodomontade to Laertes, it made him talk the like rodomontade about his love for Ophelia.

As to Burbage, or any later actor playing Hamlet as a madman: Richard Burbage and his brother Cuthbert were lessees of the Globe

and Blackfriars, and Shakspere was only one of their company. R. Burbage was the first tragic actor of his day. If he could get a better effect by playing Hamlet as a madman, and thus earn himself, Shakspere, and the Company of Shareholders, more money than by playing the character as in possession of his senses—tho' with disturbance thereof—I take it that Shakspere wouldn't object. He was a man of business, and had to make the theatre pay.

We however are free to take our conception of Hamlet, solely from Shakspere's words; and I, for one, wholly decline to accept the view that Hamlet was mad, or became at any time no-man—losing his gift of Reason—tho he was hysterical and unnervd. To 9 men and women out of every 10, Dr Nicholson's theory would halve, nay, quarter, the value of *Hamlet* and the character of Hamlet; and I hope the Doctor will some day see that his unconscious professional bias has led him astray. In Shakspere's play, only the Fool (Polonius) and the weak Women think Hamlet mad. Claudius knows better; and so does Horatio.

Dr Bayne, having very warmly commended Dr Nicholson's essay as a comprehensive and vigorous statement of his case, and admirably adapted, were it only by the friction of opposition which it provoked, to give rise to animated discussion, declared himself unconvinced. Hamlet, as a study in character, was in Shakspere's highest order of workmanship. There was nothing greater in Shakspere. But it was not marked by the delicate finish, the perfect proportion and consistency of some of Shakspere's characters, Iago, for example, or Othello. It might be impossible, therefore, to maintain against Dr Nicholson that Shakspere was faultlessly consistent in his delineation of Hamlet,—that he had not let a trait or two pass which suit a madman better than one in a state of sanity. The main lines, however, in the character, were drawn with magnificent decision, and these were not the lines of madness. There was no necessity to fall back upon that hypothesis in order to account for the circumstances which drove Dr Nicholson to have recourse to it. Hamlet's ghastly merriment, immediately after his interview with the ghost, did seem, at first glance, delirious. But had not the profoundest Shaksperian critics rightly decided that it was true to human nature to represent the mind, in moments of tremendous excitement, as rocking and reeling in a kind of intoxication, distracted enough, no doubt, but quite distinct from madness? The absence of a feeling of moral responsibility was no insuperable difficulty for those who, like himself, agreed with Mr Furnivall that Shakspere did not intend Hamlet to be by any means exemplary in a moral point of view. It might be suggested also that Shakspere, though his *Hamlet* was an original and mighty creation, had been half-unconsciously influenced, in making the prince kill Polonius and send his old schoolfellows to death in England, by the rough-draft of the story as told by 'Saxo Grammaticus,' and that he did not

sufficiently consider whether those incidents, with the mixture of recklessness and of something very like cruelty accompanying them, were perfectly in unison with the spirituality, the reflectiveness, and even the elements of tenderness, that enter into his own conception of Hamlet. The practical inefficiency, the shilly-shallying, the half-honest self-reproaches, the sophistical self-excuses of Hamlet had, once for all, been traced to their right source by Goethe. The faculty of speculation and the faculty of action are, to a considerable extent, antithetic to each other. The man who can invent plausible reasons for ten causes of action, is least of all to be relied on to carry out one of the ten. Hamlet was the kind of man who could spin a theory of the universe sooner than thread a needle. Goethe had assuredly furnished the key to Hamlet's character, as it stands related to the speculative intellect on the one hand, and to a genius for action on the other. Perhaps the strongest point urged by Dr Nicholson in support of his theory, was what seemed the deliberate confession of Hamlet to Laertes that he was mad. If this could be taken as the sincere utterance of Hamlet's consciousness that he was, in very deed, a maniac, the evidence would be recognized by any medical psychologist as strong. But, in point of fact, Hamlet's reference to his distraction in his apology to Laertes, was a mere formal appeal to the bystanders as to what was currently accepted at the court, and the substance of his excuse was that he had been carried beyond himself by passion.[1]

So much in the way of reply to Dr Nicholson's arguments. The evidence of a positive kind that Hamlet was not mad was overwhelming. He (Dr Bayne) had jotted down four heads while Dr Nicholson was reading, under which, if there were time, absolutely irresistible proof might be adduced that Shakspere had not intended to delineate him as a madman. (1) In the very moment of shock and horror on account of the appearance of the ghost, he formed a scheme of operation against his uncle, from the main principle of which—the assumed madness—he never deviated. (2) He is throughout a humourist, as well as the keenest and most brilliant of wits. His wit has become proverbial,—the expression of the irony of nations. "Very like a whale,"—nothing was ever said wittier than that. For humour, and for that pathos which goes well with supreme humour, take the scene with the grave-digger. One of the finest things in Thackeray is the mere echo—the faint after-shine—of this scene ;—the application, namely, to the Muse of the Restoration, the Muse of Congreve, of Hamlet's address to the skull of Yorick.

[1] I would supplement these remarks on Hamlet's apology to Laertes, by saying that Hamlet's estimate of his madness is to be had not in it, but in his confidential talk with Horatio in the grave scene. He therein confines himself to the statement that he "forgot himself" to Laertes, and his tone is evidently that of one who not only knows that he is not mad, but knows that his friend looks upon the notion of his madness as absurd.—P. B.

(3) The connectedness of his ideas. He seizes upon this proof of sanity, himself, in the scene with his mother. Madmen would "gambol from" the matter in hand. Hamlet did not gambol from it. This evidence alone would be conclusive. (4) To put into one category a general characteristic of which the preceding heads may be viewed as specific illustrations; Hamlet, apart from practical requirements, is a consummately able man. There is nothing in literature so clever as Hamlet. His familiar talk is the tersest, raciest, or else the most splendid prose in the English language, or, so far as I may judge, in any other. His thoughts reach the loftiest heights and the lowest deeps of philosophy and of theology. He says a few impatient words to strolling players, and the passage becomes classic and canonical as a definition of the functions of the drama,—to "hold the mirror up to nature." If Hamlet is a madman, then the *Academy* and the *Athenæum* ought to have correspondents in Colney Hatch, for madmen say finer things than ever are said by men in their right minds. In conclusion, the speaker referred to the unquestionable and close alliance there often was between genius and madness. With the biographies of Byron and of Shelley in our hands, it would be easy to show that both were frequently more like madmen than sane men, and even in Carlyle there was something very like a vein of madness. That Shakspere had this most interesting and important fact in his mind in delineating Hamlet, he (Dr B.) had no doubt. But no accepted definition of madness would send to an asylum either Byron, Shelley, or Carlyle, and, taken together, they could hardly, for intellect, be measured against Hamlet. That he was designed for the portrait of a madman is incredible.

Mr Harrison considered that Dr Nicholson had fairly established his conclusion. It would not, of course, be maintained that Hamlet was mad in the sense in which Lear was mad or as Ophelia was mad. But there were madmen and madmen. Hamlet was neither a maniac nor an imbecile; he was a *melancholiac*. His was a kind of insanity, the symptoms of which have been frequently described by medical psychologists; in which the will and the moral feelings were the subjects of the disease, while the intellect and the imagination were not in any wise impaired. So far from it, indeed, they might be abnormally vigorous and brilliant. Hamlet's thoughts and feelings and moral conduct, after his interview with the Ghost, are not those of a sane person. He tells his friends, it is true, that it is his purpose hereafter "to put an antic disposition on." But this is an observed symptom of insanity, and is quite as consistent with the theory of real as of feigned madness. Madmen often thus try to make themselves out to be more eccentric than they really are. And before he declares his intention to act the madman we find him meditating suicide, hating his life, and only restrained by the thought of the "Canon against self-slaughter" fixed by "the Everlasting." This, in one so

young and one circumstanced as he is, must be looked upon as a symptom of incipient disease. Then he has "bad dreams"—another characteristic symptom. He breaks out into violent and uncontrollable fits of delirious excitement which he cannot repress even before his own friends, with whom he has no need to feign; as, for instance, immediately after the departure of the Ghost, and again when alone with Horatio at the conclusion of the play.

The evidences of his sanity which he offers to his mother would prove nothing as to his state of mind. They might do so in the case of a maniac or an imbecile. But, according to the testimony of the physicians of lunatic asylums, the pulse of the melancholiac is not abnormal, nor are his powers of memory and attention necessarily impaired. So much as regards the negative proofs. As positive evidence of his insanity we may notice his cruel and unnecessary violence of language and manner to Ophelia, and the grossness of his words spoken to her in the play-scene. Were he merely trying to appear insane before the Court, he would at least have controlled himself in addressing the being whom he so tenderly loved. His behaviour at the grave of Ophelia is that of a person who has lost the power of self-control.

Hamlet's appeal to Laertes' gentlemanly feeling, if all the while he is knowingly saying what is a deliberate lie, is unquestionably, to quote Johnson's words, "unsuitable to the character of a good or a brave man." Granting that he was constitutionally vacillating and infirm of purpose, yet surely Shakspere did not mean us to see in him a liar and a coward.

Miss Phipson held that if Hamlet had been deficient in moral responsibility, he would not have cared about his mother's crime, nor would he have been so earnest about killing his uncle.

Dr Nicholson replied: So far as I can judge, though some of my arguments have been opposed by beliefs and suggestions, and though counterproofs of his sanity have been advanced, none have been met. The case is one De Lun. Inq. and I hold that my arguments must prove my view unless they can be shown to be either not facts, or facts that do not imply madness. But a word on these beliefs. Hamlet, we are told, to exculpate himself was guilty of a deliberate lie six times solemnly repeated before God and men, either for a mere fancy or for a cowardly purpose. This view is stated, not proved. To me it is irreconcileable with Hamlet's character, and destroys my interest in him. Mr Furnivall loses almost all interest in the play if Hamlet be mad. But my contention is, that there is madness in him—that he is only occasionally and paroxysmally mad. This I stated at the outset, and a second time in the grave scene, dwelt on by Mr Furnivall, as though I had not remarked on Hamlet's speech—"Hear you, sir," &c. If an interest be taken because of an unproved hypothesis, so much the worse for the interest. I still feel the interest I did, but a more intelligent one. The noble and ignoble

thoughts, the subtlety of these, and of their expression, the different and most life-like characters thus expressed, the contrasts between Hamlet's sane and insane utterances and actions, the intricacies thus caused, the working out withal, in so exquisitely interesting and pathetic a manner of the two moral principles I have spoken of, all interest me most intensely. By the way that, "Polonius and the women were the only people who held him mad," must be an oversight. I am told that Hamlet had "the indifference of his time and race" to other murders, but that his hesitation as to that of Claudius was necessary to make out a five act play. I cannot admit an inconsistency which so lowers Shakspere and his chief play. So, too, I cannot admit that Shakspere would allow Burbage to misrender Hamlet for the sake of a few pence. I was once rebuked by Mr Furnivall for thinking that Shakspere had an eye to the main chance. But I never went as far as this, nor could I. If Ophelia's words be not "literally true," that is, if she did not mean what she said, I give up the belief that Shakspere meant us to believe anything that his characters say.

Dr Bayne's four proofs that Hamlet was sane are, I venture to think, arguments by one who has not studied the phases of insanity, or had practical acquaintance with it. I always listen with pleasure to Dr Bayne's acute and frequently far-seeing remarks, but the study of madness is a speciality on which I, a medical man, can only speak as to its broader lines and with diffidence. On it, all but those who have attended to it speak and think as did those mentioned in my two introductory illustrations. These, I think, re-read, dispose of Dr Bayne's proofs, Nos. 2 and 4. As to No. 3, madmen do not always "gambol from the matter," though I think I have shown that Hamlet occasionally did so. Madmen often tell their tales with a coherence which is striking, and Hamlet's madness was not so much one of intellect as emotional. This, too, is to be noticed, that he was talking, not on any of his mad points, but on facts—the faults of his mother and uncle. To (1) I reply that on the confession of my opponents he was then temporarily mad, "distracted, reeling in a kind of intoxication." I cannot believe in settled plans made at such a time, though I can believe in a strong desire for revenge. There is no proof of either sanity or madness in this latter, but there is one proof of madness in his want of determination in carrying out his partially carried-out plans. The question whether his assumed madness was a truth, or whether he gave this as a plausible pretext which would hide the real madness which he felt, must be decided by his other thoughts and actions. I would add that my opponents would explain all his actions, except perhaps the "very like a whale" scene, as those of a sane man, forgetting on their own hypothesis that he must have assumed a semblance of madness. Such semblances I admit, but contend, with Scoloker and others, that they were realities.

After Dr Nicholson's reply, the Chairman askt all who were prezent to give their opinions, which they did in succession, and he then dezired those who thought with Dr Nicholson that Hamlet was mad, to hold up their hands: Dr Nicholson and Mr Harrison did so. For 'On the contrary', every one else in the room—some 15 folk—held up his or her hand.

SCRAPS.

set vp his rest, made up his mind, rezolvd: *Errors*, IV. iii. 27. *crosses*, money: *L. L. Lost*, I. ii. 36. "[*Dulippo.*] This amorous cause that hangeth in controuersie betwene *Domine doctor* & me, may be compared to them that play at primero [. . . *a un giuoco mi par simile di Zara*, &c.]: of whom some one peraduenture shal leese a great sum of money before he win one stake, & at last halfe in anger shal **set vp his rest** [. . . *e dolente al fin dir, vadane il resto*, &c.]: win it: and after that another, another and another . . . til at last the one of them is left with as many **crosses** as God hath brethren [. . . *viene un bel punto, che accumula da un lato il tutto, e lascia l'altro povero.*]." 1566. Gascoigne's *Supposes* (Ariosto's *I Suppositi*), Act III. sc. ii. Roxb. Lib. ed. of G.'s *Poems*, vol. i. p. 225.—W. G. S.

Jack o' the clock: Rich. II. V. v. 60. "I have often observ'd (with all Submission and Resignation of Spirit to the inscrutable Mysteries of Eternal Providence) that when the Fulness and Maturity of Time is come that produces the great Confusions and Changes in the World, it usually pleases God to make it appear by the manner of them, that they are not the Effects of human Force or Policy, but of the Divine Justice and Predestination; and tho' we see a Man, like that which we call **Jack of the Clock-house**, striking, as it were, the Hour of that Fulness of Time, yet our Reason must needs be convinc'd, that his Hand is mov'd by some secret, and to us who stand without, invisible Direction." 1661. Abraham Cowley. *A Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell*, Works, ed. 10, ii. 649, 650.—W. G. S. [I remember seeing two men, two Jacks of the Clock, who used to strike the hours and quarters close to the clock face of St Dunstan's in the Strand. At least I think there were two; there was certainly one.—B. N.]

painting, sb. a pigment for the face. *Cymbeline*, III. iv. 52 (see *N. Sh. Soc. Trans.* 1877-9, p. 466), "*Fard:* m. Fard, **painting** (properly, Ceruse or white Lead)." 1611. Cotgrave. (*Ceruse:* f. Ceruse, or, white lead, wherewith women paint. *ib.*)—F.

foppery, sb. *Lear*, I. ii. 128. *Ineptie:* f. Vnaptnesse, vnseasonablenesse; fondnesse, trifling, vainnesse, **fopperie**, childishnesse. 1611. Cotgrave.—F.

(*Eighty-first Meeting, Friday, October* 13, 1882.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

This, the opening meeting of the Tenth Session, was open to the public.

The Chairman prefaced the proceedings by some remarks upon the objects of the Society, and the lines upon which it was worked—those of chronological study—stating that they might consider their battle fairly won. He announced a forthcoming edition of an old-spelling Shakspere—the first since Shakspere's time—and hoped that next year the whole of the comedies would be placed in the hands of members.

Miss E. H. Hickey then read a paper upon *Julius Cæsar*, of which the following is an Abstract.

Miss Hickey noticed the internal evidence for placing the play in Shakspere's middle period, there being an absence of puns and conceits, and a freedom and harmony of versification as well as a few of the early-work rimes, while the difficulties and obscurities of expression which we find in the later work were wanting.

As to the original of the play, Miss Hickey failed to see the indebtedness to Appian's *Chronicle* for Act III. sc. ii., which had been brought forward by Mr Watkiss Lloyd and others. Shakspere had followed North's *Plutarch* closely, taking from the original many touches which seemed essentially Shaksperean; and he here stands to his original in a relation wholly different from that in which he stands to the originals of other plays. The gift given us by Plutarch, passing through Shakspere, is the same, and yet not the same; the "pasture of great souls" yields delights and nutrition, but we come to Shakspere and receive more and greater abundantly.

We note specially the influence of the Renascence upon Shakspere, in the deep imbuing of his mind with the sense of "the grandeur that was Rome." He felt the true Roman to have been an image of strength, physical and moral. In the *Merchant of Venice* it is said that he is one in whom

> "The ancient Roman honour more appears
> Than any that draws breath in Italy."

"I am more an antique Roman than a Dane," said the ideal friend, Horatio. In all Shakspere's Roman women there is not one moral flaw. Throughout his plays we can trace the same sympathy and

admiration for Rome and the Romans, and his imagination appears to have been most strongly imprest by Julius Cæsar. One of the most remarkable allusions which show this, occurs in *Richard III.* Act III., where the little king says,

> "That Julius Cæsar was a famous man;
> With what his valour did enrich his wit,
> His wit set down to make his valour live.
> Death makes no conquest of this conqueror;
> For now he lives in fame, though not in life."

It has been represented that though Julius Cæsar gives the name to the Play, not only is Brutus the hero, but Cæsar is represented in an unheroic light, his speech disfigured by "thrasonical brag," his mind swayed by superstition, and certain physical defects brought forward. It seemed to Miss Hickey that a good deal of this impression arose from two things: our lack of careful study of context, and our habit of using a nineteenth century standard in judging of other century development of character and art. Shakspere's age was without doubt, compared with ours, an age of unreserve, and words were uttered and deeds done which involved none of that loss of dignity which must in our day follow hard upon their uttering and their doing. Allowing for the difference in ideal brought about in nearly three centuries, Cæsar did not seem to Miss Hickey on the whole a braggart. As to the influence that superstitious fears have upon him, is he not wrought on by his love for Calpurnia rather than by regard for her dreams? and was not the English belief in Shakspere's day in entire sympathy with that of the heathen world in omens and auguries? We find through Shakspere's plays that the brave accept fate, but do not reject premonitions or presentiments any more than they disbelieve in the influence of planets upon their lives; and where we find absolute disbelief, it is in the bad, not in the good.

It is a want of careful study of the context again that makes Cæsar appear to certain people in an unheroic light; as to the stress laid upon his physical defects, it is Cassius who lays this stress, and it is surely a defect in Cassius' nature, that he is incapable of recognizing Cæsar's true greatness. His mind's eye seems to be short-sighted; and in his narration to Brutus of Cæsar's "weakness" he seems to show a thick wit and a thin heart.

It has been suggested that Shakspere may have kept Cæsar's greatness in the background, in order that he might appear to us as he did to the conspirators; this Miss Hickey was unable to accept; Cæsar is the hero of the play because he is the dramatic centre of it, and all converges to him whether in life or in death, and what first sets Brutus apart is his relation to Cæsar.

The man who grapples with the spirit of Cæsar seems to stand forth as the noblest of those Romans for whom Shakspere had such

sympathetic admiration. Is he defeated because circumstances are too strong for him? or because the causes of his defeat lie in himself?

Brutus knows no personal cause to spurn at Cæsar; indeed, he calls him his best lover. To his life a terrible struggle has come; he sees, as he believes, the attempted sapping of the foundation of Roman liberty; and the guilty hand of the sapper is the hand of his friend, the hand of his "best lover." Cassius sounding him finds that he is ready, at any price, to save Rome. But he will decide nothing rashly; he will have time to consider. A little later his mind is made up; it must be by the death of Cæsar that Rome shall be set free.

In the soliloquy of Brutus at the beginning of the 2nd Act we have strong evidence of some great flaw in his judgment, and we shall not part from him before learning that his want of wholeness and soundness of judgment helps to ruin the cause which is to him a struggle for freedom. He knows no personal cause to spurn at Cæsar. He calls him his best lover; he has loved him not less than any dear, dear friend of Cæsar's has done. It is for the general only that Brutus must spurn at Cæsar. In the argument which Brutus puts forward he shows how his mind is under the sway of false reasoning. It is potential evil that he aims at. Cæsar is to be destroyed because he *may* do mischief! Neither does Brutus recognize that the Republic is past grace, past salvation. The people crave a ruler, a new spirit necessitates a new form, and the old Republic shall not live again.

It has been said that Brutus is used by the conspirators to cover their own moral nakedness; we may carry on the metaphor by adding that the garment they have donned impedes and stays them in their course. Cassius, a man of far lower moral stature than Brutus, is possest of far more practical judgment; but he, as well as others, is controlled by a power in Brutus exercised consciously or unconsciously throughout. Out of Brutus' very singleness of heart springs that assertive self-belief which is not vanity, but comes through an identification of himself with his cause, which he feels to be so utterly right that it must prosper.

Portia is shown to us in one relation only, as the noble wife of one who is entirely worthy of her. Her life is blent with that of Brutus, yet she has never lost her individuality. The fine scene in which she claims his confidence has been contrasted with that in which Lady Percy seeks to win the partnership of Hotspur's trouble. There is a very striking antithesis in the two men, the two women, and their relation to each other.

There is a beautiful account of Portia's parting from Brutus when he left Rome, in North's *Plutarch*, which one is tempted to wish that Shakspere had used. But it was not needed for the play, and his non-use of it seems therefore a proof of his mastery of

his art. And though Shakspere has not brought in the incident of the emotion of Portia at the sight of the picture of the parting between Hector and Andromache, it has probably influenced him in his conception of her character.

After the murder of Cæsar, Brutus, who had insisted on sparing Antony, commits another practical blunder in allowing him to make the funeral oration.

In the scene of the quarrel between the two generals, it is curious how unconscious Brutus appears of having given any occasion of annoyance to Cassius. With strange inconsistency he blames Cassius for not sending him gold, after he had accused him of obtaining gold by wrong means,—means which he himself would scorn to use. It is certainly the irony of facts. Later on he blunders again. In his anger Cassius had spoken true words,—"I am a soldier, I, Older in practice, abler than yourself To make conditions." Cassius *is* the better general, but through his incapacity for seeing it, Brutus ruins his cause.

In spite of all its disasters, the life of Brutus had had great good in it. He had known and possest Portia, and he had found no man but he was true to him. Best of all, he had been true to his own self, and had never been false to any man. His ideal was preserved, and he died to live for us as the noblest Roman of them all.

Blind to his beauty and glory, Dante has placed him and Cassius with Judas Iscariot; each of these three "traitors" cruncht in one of the three mouths of "The Emperor of the kingdom dolorous." Not so felt Michael Angelo, not so felt she who spoke of

> "That dim bust of Brutus jagged and grand,
> Where Buonarotti passionately tried
> From out the close-clenched marble to demand
> The head of Rome's sublimest homicide,
> Then dropt the quivering mallet from his hand,
> Despairing he could find no model-stuff
> Of Brutus in all Florence, where he found
> The gods and gladiators thick enough."

Perhaps the best expression of the difference between Brutus and Cassius is to be found in North's saying that Cassius was not so simple and pure as Brutus. But there is no sharp antithesis between them; the difference is delicately, as well as clearly, markt. How much real greatness Cassius must have had would appear, if only by Brutus' words, "The last of all the Romans, fare thee well! It is impossible that ever Rome should breed thy fellow."

Miss Hickey considered that Shakspere took a more favourable view of Antony in the later dramas than in the earlier one, the hero of Antony and Cleopatra being a greater man than the Antony of Julius Cæsar. In the play before us he can make a spectacle of the holiest feelings of friendship, and then say with a sneer, "Now let it

work. Mischief, thou art afoot." He can sit at a table and damn with a spot his sister's son. He can use Lepidus as a tool and then throw him over, and send for Cæsar's will "to cut off some charge in legacies." His words over Brutus' body seem to show some genuine appreciation of him; but he knew how popular Brutus had been, and he knew that the way to obtain popularity himself was not to depreciate others. Had he been sincere, would he have said to Eros, "'Twas I That the *mad* Brutus ended?"

Mr Knight thought that the catastrophe of Julius Cæsar was the death of the Roman Republic at Philippi; it rather seemed to Miss Hickey that it was not her death, but her burial, that was set forth. The interest in the play was not so much the interest of a historical drama as of a tragedy. The men concerned in the events, their feelings, their character, were more to us than the events themselves. There *is* a war of principles, but the principles are incarnate in men of like passions with ourselves. And if incarnation be in one sense a veiling, in another it is a revelation.

A vote of thanks having been unanimously passed to Miss Hickey for her paper,

Mr F. J. Furnivall gave it as his opinion that Shakspere had distinctly reduced the heroic proportions of Cæsar, and that his sympathies were with Brutus. He noticed how Brutus killed Cæsar for his *potential* evil; but when Cassius would put Antony to death for exactly the same reason, Brutus refuses to have his own argument used against him. Contrary to Miss Hickey, Mr Furnivall thought the Antony of *Julius Cæsar* a greater man than him of *Antony and Cleopatra*. No doubt Antony likes acting, and is an actor; but there is the ring of true love in his words about Cæsar.

Dr Darmesteter concurred generally in the opinions of the paper, for which he thanked Miss Hickey.

Rev. W. A. Harrison also expressed surprise at Miss Hickey's preference for the Antony of *Antony and Cleopatra*, agreeing with Mr Furnivall that Antony's feelings were true. Cassius seemed to be contrasted with Brutus as the man of action with the man of thought. Cassius was the more dangerous man, as Cæsar saw.

Mr Tylor made some observations on the predominating Fate in the play.

Dr B. Nicholson on the question as to who was the hero, said that there was no personal hero; there was shown instead the fall of the Republic and the rise of Imperialism. The play showed that Shakspere studied his authorities well. Not only the life of Julius Cæsar, but the lives of Brutus and Cassius also, as the evidences show, must have been closely studied. Dr Nicholson agreed with Miss Hickey in seeing no evidence of the indebtedness of the play to Appian's *Chronicle;* and also in preferring the Antony of *Antony and Cleopatra* to that of *Julius Cæsar*. The Antony of the former had

a truly noble mind; witness his treatment of Cleopatra after her desertion, and of Enobarbus.

In reply, Miss Hickey defended her preference for the Antony of *Antony and Cleopatra* by pointing out the impression of greatness he had made on all around him; and the way in which they all lamented his fall. A fall implied a height.

(*Eighty-second Meeting, Friday, November* 10, 1882.)

The Rev. W. A. Harrison in the Chair.

A paper by Miss Teena Rochfort-Smith, the editress of the society's four-text edition of *Hamlet*, on "The Relation of the First Quarto of *Hamlet* to the Second, and on Some of the Textual Difficulties of the Play," was read by Mr Furnivall. Miss Rochfort-Smith said that, in order to form an independent opinion on the relation of the two Quartos, she had, before looking at any commentator, read first the First Quarto and afterwards the Second; had then compared the two together line by line; and, lastly, had read the commentators. Her strong opinion was that the First Quarto was Shakspere's "first sketch" of his great play. She noted the changes of the names of Corambis and Montano to Polonius and Reynaldo; the vital ones of the anti-Clown speech, with its plainly genuine "cinkapase of ieasts," "the warme Clowne cannot make a iest vnleffe by chance;" the confidential scene between the Queen and Horatio, not reproduced in Quarto 2—which the writer contended was Shakspere's work misreported—and other smaller points; and then passed on to the changes in the characters of the Queen and Ophelia, which had so struck her as a woman. Comparing the characters in the two Quartos—in the course of which Miss Rochfort-Smith developed a very sharp attack on Ophelia, whose thwarted love she declared to be disappointed vanity more than anything else, and whom she termed a disgrace to her sex—the writer contended that the alterations and improvements in Quarto 2 proved a re-working of these characters by Shakspere. The like conclusion must be drawn from the re-worked Hamlet, Laertes, &c.; and therefore, in the matter of text, Quarto 1 could be used only to show the history of any doubtful phrase or word, like "sallied flesh," and to correct any miscopying in Quarto 2. The relation of Folio 1 to Quarto 2 was, in the main, settled by Dr Tanger in the last part of the society's *Transactions*. Its copier had preserved several genuine passages of the play left out by the copier or printer of Quarto 2; but its text had been touched up and altered by the players, whether Heminge and Condell, or others of Burbage's company. The only safe rule for an editor was, to take Quarto 2 as his foundation-text, and not depart from it except in case of plain

mistake or omission. Specially in the cases of unexpected and archaic words and phrases would players' alterations be certain, as Mr Furnivall had shown was the case in *Troilus and Cressida* and *Much Ado*. Passing, then, to "textual difficulties," Miss Rochfort-Smith dealt with (*a*) I. i. 116, 117, between which she proposed to insert the line, "While in the Heauens aboue were figns beheld," or "In Heauen aboue were dread portents;" (*b*) with I. ii. 129, where she insisted on retaining "sallied" in the sense of assaulted, harassed "by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune;" she contended that the "grieu'd and sallied" of Quarto 1 proved that "solid" could not have been the original reading, as it could not have been joined with "grieu'd," while the same "grieu'd" showed that "flesh" stood for the whole being, and not only the materials of the body. Mr Harrison well paralleled the phrase by the "Rome and Juliet" "shake the yoke of inauspicious stars From this world-wearied flesh;" (*c*) with I. iii. 74, "Ar of a moſt ſelect and generous *chiefe* in that," where she retained "chiefe" = eminence, on the strength of Prof. Taylor Thom's citation from George Cranmer's "chiefety of dominion" in Earle's *Philology;* (*d*) with I. iv. 36—38, "the dram of eale" lines, which she declined to alter, seeing that "devil" was twice spelt "deale" in II. ii. 628, "May be a *deale*, and the *deale* hath power," and that "doth" means "puts;" (*e*) with three cases of Quarto 2's archaisms modernised in Folio 1: "for to drinke," I. ii. 175, "for to preuent," I. ii. 175; "*an* auspitious and *a* dropping eye," in which she declined to follow the Folio changes; (*f*) with a miscopying of "foule" as "fonde" in Quarto 2, I. ii. 273, in which she gladly accepted the right copying of the Folio; (*g*) with the Folio change of Quarto 2's "*Speake* to it, Horatio," into "*Question* it, Horatio," I. i. 46, which she refused to adopt, on the ground that Marcellus's repetition of his first phrase was far more natural in his excited state than the *littérateur's* avoidance of the recurrence of that phrase. *Prima facie*, it was Shakspere who had altered the "Question it" of Quarto 1 to the "Speake to it" of his recast play in Quarto 2. The change back to the Quarto 1 "Question it" was exactly such a one as an actor-emender would make. Other difficulties were dealt with.

A complimentary speech from the chairman followed, with a discussion, by a full meeting, of Miss Rochfort-Smith's main points.

With regard to the doubtful "chiefe in that," a note by Prof. W. Taylor Thom, of Hollins Institute, Virginia, U.S.A., was read.

Prof. Taylor Thom stood for the retention of the reading of the Folios, recognizing "chief" and the "cheff" of the Folios as mere variants. The scanning of the line should least of all trouble us; when we find *safety* in line 21 of the same scene, appearing as a trisyllable, might we not contract and slur vowels in l. 74? Or might we not scan it as an Alexandrine? In fine, Shakspere wrote

many bad lines, and this might well be allowed to go along with the others.

Of the various emendations and explanations that have been made, none were entirely satisfactory. Neither "of a" nor "chief" could well be omitted, the Quartos and Folios all having "of a" and some form of "chief." Shakspere and the Elizabethans must have been familiar with "chief" in the physical sense of head, headman, top rank, highest station—and further in the intellectual sense of head, mind, taste, choice, corresponding to such rank and station. And so Polonius would say exactly what he meant, whether we understood "chief" as applied to the taste dictating the kind of dress, or to the dress itself as showing the *taste* and adapted to the *rank* of the wearer. That this "head" meaning of "chief" was still predominant in the Elizabethan mind was shown in part by Shakspere's use of "kerchief" for head-covering, as distinguished from "napkin," our "handkerchief." Furthermore, Mr Earle (*Philology of the English Tongue*, § 350) quoted from George Cranmer, MS. notes on *Hooker's Sixth Book*, this sentence among others: "You terme yt sometymes chiefety of dominion, sometymes souverainety, sometimes imperiall power;" where "chiefety," that is, highest rank in power, corresponded exactly to what Polonius wished to express by "chief," that is, the characteristic quality attending high rank, the superior taste and choice, namely, shown in conforming to the requirements of high rank. It would be entirely in keeping for him to use the word in a strained pedantic application.

SCRAPS.

kettle-drum, and 'rouse': Danish Drinking Custom. *Ham.* I. iv. 8—12.

> "Thus when the hovering Publican [a bee]
> Had suck'd the Toll of all her Span,
> (Tuning his draughts with drowsie Hums,
> As *Danes* **Carouze by kettle-drums**)," &c.

—'Fuscara, or the Bee Errant,' in Cleveland's *Works*, 1742, p. 3.—W. G. S.

maund, sb.: *Lover's Complaint*, 36.

> "And in a little **maund**, being made of oziers small,
> Which serveth him to do full many a thing withall,
> He very choicely sorts his simples got abroad."

1613. Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song the Thirteenth, *Works*, 1753, vol. iii. p. 919. *Corbeille:* f. A wicker Basket, or Maund; cf. *Mande*, &c. Cotgrave.—B. N.

(*Eighty-third Meeting, Friday, December* 8, 1882.)

Dr Peter Bayne in the Chair.

Mr F. J. Furnivall read his Paper on the "Textual Difficulties in the Early Comedies," and mentioned the readings which, in disputed passages, would be adopted in the Society's forthcoming "Old-spelling Shakspere."

Some notes by Prof. Taylor Thom, on three puzzle-words in *Hamlet*, were then read; the following is the substance of them:—

I. "Every word" (IV. v. 98—106).

> "The rabble call him lord;
> And, as the world were now but to begin,
> Antiquity forgot, custom not known,
> The ratifiers and props of every word,
> They cry, Choose we; Laertes shall be king."

The general sense of this passage was quite clear, but Mr Furness gave no less than five conjectural readings for *word* (l. 101); and also gave the explanations of many editors and annotators, only one of which, that by Caldecott, being, so Prof. Taylor Thom thought, the true one, but not supported by any authority; viz., that "word" meant "appellation" or "title." That this was the real meaning—that "title" was the true synonym for "word"—appeared to be proven by the following citation in *Nares* (Glossary): "Lord Burleigh, in one of his letters to Walsingham after his advancement to the peerage, signs his name W. Cecill, but adds, 'I forget my new *word*, William Burleighe.'"

II. "Saint Patrick" (I. v. 135-6).

> "*Hor.* There's no offence, my lord.
> *Ham.* Yes, by Saint Patrick, but there is, Horatio."

Saint Patrick was especially distinguished as the *serpent-destroying* saint, and the Ghost has just said,—

> "'Tis given out, that sleeping in my orchard,
> A serpent stung me; . . . . but know, thou noble youth,
> The serpent that did sting thy father's life
> Now wears his crown."

III. "Pajock" (III. ii. 273). It was only by reference to the multiplying habit of Hamlet's mind that Dyce's explanation of "pajock" as "peacock" appeared altogether satisfactory. Hamlet's process of

thought appeared to be about this: he thought of Claudius in the place and garb of his own Jove-like father as of the ass in the royal lion's skin (and place), and was on the point of rhyming, when his restless imagination passed from the idea of the place to the idea of the gaudy trappings, more particularly, in which Claudius had there tricked himself out like a peacock; and then, thinking of the peacock as the very embodiment of useless, vainglorious show, he abruptly finished the line in keeping with the last idea. In finishing, however, he made a pause, and then employed such a provincial name for peacock as should contain a hint of the wretched knave, the *jock* or *jack* of a fellow, to whom he first intended to liken the king. As to the reading itself, there seemed to be nothing improbable in it. Mr Dyce said he heard peacock called peajock in Scotland.

(*Eighty-fourth Meeting, Friday, January* 12, 1883.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Rev. W. A. Harrison read a Paper on "The Textual Difficulties in *Richard II.*" Beginning with a careful enumeration of the various editions of the play, and quoting Collier, Grant White, and Staunton as to the superior accuracy of Quarto 1 (1597), Mr Harrison went on to deal with the various difficulties in their order. The following were the chief difficulties noticed by him, with an abstract of his remarks and conclusions.

I. i. 186,—"Cousin, throw *up* your gage." So the Quartos; the Folios have "throw *down* your gage." But this is demonstrably wrong; to throw *down* a gage is to *give* a challenge; what the king bids Bolingbroke do is to *revoke* the challenge. The Quarto reading, then, "Cousin, throw *up* your gage" (*i. e.* Deliver up to me that gage which you hold in your hand), is certainly right.

I. iii. 150,—"The slie slow hours." In spite of the unanimous authority of the Quartos and of all the Folios but the second, for "sly slow," Pope followed the second Folio in reading "fly-slow" (inserting the hyphen). This Mr Harrison thought a most unlikely and incongruous epithet for Shakspere to use in this connection. The idea of "flying" was incompatible with the idea of the tediousness of the dragging hours. Another consideration which may have influenced Shakspere in his use of "slie" before "slow," is the alliteration. In this particular play he is nothing if not alliterative; in these two lines alone we get *slie, slow, shall; determinate, dateless, dear.*

I. iii. 193,—"Norfolk, so *fare* as to mine enemy" (Q1, 2, 3, 4, F1); "farre" (F2, Q5, F3), "far" (F1, and modern editions). In support of "fare," may it not mean, "I will not say farewell; but I bid you adieu 'as to mine enemy' (I should bid adieu);" "*so fare* as I should wish mine enemy to fare"

II. i. 17,—"No, it is stopped with other flattering sounds
As praises, *of whose taste the wise are found,*
Lascivious metres, to whose venom sound," &c.

So Q1. Q2 has "As praises of whose state the wise are found." Q3 and 4 and F2 have "It is stopped with other flattering sounds As praises of *his state;* then there are found," &c., which was adopted by most modern editors, including Dyce. F1 has "then there are *sound* Lascivious metres to whose venom sound," which is clearly a misprint for "found," and which Delius corrects to "then there are *fond*," &c.

Leaving the modern editors alone, and confining ourselves to the Folio and Quarto readings respectively: "Then there are found" Mr Harrison thought a feeble way of stating the fact that the king was enslaved by "Lascivious metres." He preferred to keep the reading of Quarto 1, "As praises of whose taste the wise are found." Shakspere uses "taste" more than once in the sense of *test*, or *trial*, or *proof* (*Coriol.*, III. i. 318; *Cress.*, III. iii. 13; *Hamlet*, II. ii. 452; *Lear*, II. ii. 47). And so he uses to "find" in the sense of to "detect," to see through, to discover the disposition of a person or the quality of a thing (*Henry V.*, IV. i. 276; *Lear*, IV. vi. 104), &c. "Of" is of course used for "by," as usual in the phrase "To be found of."

The meaning of the line would then be "Praises," "of whose taste," *i. e.* by the test or proof of which, "the wise are found," *i. e.* discovered or detected. Mr Harrison thought the corruption of the word "taste" to be due to a printer's mistake in mixing the letters, and so getting "state"; and the printer of Q3, finding this nonsense, must have doctored the passage.

II. i. 70,—"For young hot colts, being raged, do rage the more." "Raged" has been strongly objected to by modern editors; the doubt being whether "raged" can be used in the sense of *angered*, or *irritated;* but it is found in this very sense in the same scene, l. 173, "In war, was never lion raged more fierce." This line is generally construed "there was never a lion (that) raged more fiercely," and this construction is of course possible; but it is unnecessary, and destroys the force and balance of the sentence.

"In war, was never lion raged, more fierce;
In peace, was never gentle lamb, more mild."

"War" is contrasted with "peace"; a "raged lion" with a "gentle lamb," "more fierce" with "more mild."

II. i. 277,—

"I have from Port le Blanc, a bay
In Brittany, received intelligence
That Harry Duke of Hereford, Rainold Lord Cobham,
. . . . . .
That late broke from the Earl of Exeter,
His brother, archbishop late of Canterbury," &c., &c.

Here a line has evidently dropped out. As the text stands, it asserts that Rainold Lord Cobham lately broke from the Duke of Exeter. But this was not the fact, and Holinshed is too explicit on the subject for Shakspere to err. Moreover, the line "His brother, archbishop late of Canterbury," is nonsense as it stands, because the person to whom the archbishop was brother has not been mentioned. This person was the old Earl, Richard, the father of Thomas who escaped. It is evident, therefore, that a line has been omitted, in which both this Richard and his son Thomas were mentioned. Malone accordingly supplies in brackets ["The son of Richard Earl of Arundel"], but the objection to this is that it seems to make Richard, and not Thomas, the one who escaped. The same objection applies to Ritson's suggestion. A better substitute would be "Thomas, the Earl of Arundel's son and heir" (H. H. Vaughan's suggestion).

I. iv. 20,—"He is our Cosin (cosin)," &c. So F1, 2, 3, 4, Q5; modern editors, "cousin, cousin"; Q1, 2, 3, 4, "cousins' cousin" (with varying spellings). According to the Folios and the modern editors, Richard says, "He (Bolingbroke) is our cousin, cousin" (Aumerle). According to the Quartos, Richard means to say, "Bolingbroke is cousin to myself and to all whom I am cousin to; but by the indifference which he shows for us all, it is very doubtful whether, when he returns from banishment, he will come to see any of those his friends." The Quarto reading should, Mr Harrison thought, be kept; the contrast being between Bolingbroke's princely relatives, for whom he seemed not to care at all, and the "craftsmen," "draymen" and "oyster-wenches" whom he courted so assiduously.

II. ii. 57 (here Q1 is corrupted by all the later copies),—

> "Why have you not proclaimed Northumberland
> And all the rest revolted faction, traitors?" Q1.

"And the rest of the revolted faction traitors?" Q2 and 5, F1, 2. "And the rest of the revolting faction traitors?" Q3, 4. "And the rest of that revolted faction traitors?" F3, 4.

In each of these changes the rhythm of the line was spoilt. Mr Harrison stood for retaining the reading of Q1; the combination of "the rest" with the passive participle he thought thoroughly Shaksperian, and quoted numerous instances of it. If any alteration be necessary, Mr Harrison suggested "factious" for "faction": "And all the rest revolted—factious traitors?"

II. ii. 4,—"T' one is my sovereign, . . . t' other again," &c.

So all the Quartos. F1 has "Th' one" and "Th' other." Most modern editors have quietly inserted "The one," "The other," damaging the metre, and getting rid of a characteristic ancient form of abbreviation.

II. iii. 80,—"Self-borne arms." So the Quartos. F1, 2, 3, "Selfe-borne armes." Modern editors print "self-born," indigenous. Mr Harrison would retain the Quarto reading "self-borne."

III. ii. 37, &c.,—

"Knows't thou not
That when the searching eye of heaven is hid
Behind the globe, *that* lights the lower world," &c.

So Q1, 3, 4, F1; as there is no (,) after "globe" in Q1 the conditions stated here only exist during an eclipse of the sun. But as Shakspere evidently only means to express the fact that it is night, the (,) after "globe" as given in F1 should be retained. Q2 has "*and* lights."

Mr Harrison thought it an open question whether we should read "and" or "that." At first sight "and" seems to give the better sense, but "that" has the preponderance of evidence in favour of its being the correcter reading. And for the relative to belong to the more remote antecedent was too common a construction in Shakspere to occasion any difficulty. Mr Harrison would therefore retain "that."

III. ii. 122,—

"Where is the Earl of Wiltshire? where is Bagot?
What is become of Bushy? where is Green?"

asks King Richard, according to the Quartos and Folios. But in l. 132 he calls the *four* above-mentioned, *three* Judases. Holinshed says that Bagot had gone to Ireland, and is so understood by Shakspere (II. ii. 141). Theobald accordingly altered it to "Where is he got?" If any alteration be required, the most Shaksperian would be Vaughan's, "Where become?" For this phrase see 3 *Henry VI.*, II. i. 9; IV. iv. 25; *Tr. and Cress.*, III. iii. 11.

III. ii. 175-6. The Quartos and Folios unanimously read—

"I live with bread like you, feel want,
Taste grief, need friends; subjected thus," &c.

Each line being a foot short. Pope, Steevens, and S. Walker suggest alterations; Pope's emendation seemed to Mr Harrison the best:—

"I live with bread *like you*, feel want *like you;*
Taste grief, need friends *like you;* subjected thus," &c.

III. iii. 95,—"But ere the crown he looks for *live* in peace."

Warburton proposed "light in peace"; an anonymous writer (in Halliwell) "give him peace." But a passage where Bolingbroke himself is the speaker settles the authenticity of the reading beyond all doubt; it is in 2 *Henry IV.*, IV. iv. 219,—

"How I came by the crown, O God, forgive,
And grant it may with thee in true *peace live.*"

III. iii. 119,—"This swears he as he is a *princess* just" (Q1, 2); an error corrected to "prince just" by Q3, 4. But this leaves

the metre halting: "This swears he, as he is a prince, is just." So the Folios and Q5, and this is evidently right; we must keep in mind the Shaksperian meaning of "just" and "unjust" as equivalent to "true" and "false."

III. iv. 10,—

> "*Lady.* Madame, wee'le tell Tales.
> *Queen.* Of Sorrow, or of Griefe?
> *Lady.* Of eyther, Madame. *Queen.* Of neyther, Girle.
> For if of *Joy*, being altogether wanting,
> It doth remember me the more of Sorrow,
> Or if of Griefe, being altogether bad,
> It addes more Sorrow to my want of Joy."

All the Quartos and Folios read "of *Sorrow* or of *Griefe*," whereas it appears, from what follows, that one of the two words should be rejected, and *Joy* substituted. Rowe reads "Of sorrow or of joy"; Capell, "Of joy or of grief." It is a genuine textual difficulty.

III. iv. 22,—"And I could sing, would weeping do me good."

Here again the Quartos and Folios are unanimous. But modern editors refuse to admit the passage in this form. Pope altered it to "And I could *weep*, would weeping do me good," which is certainly better than Staunton's, "And I could sing, would singing do me good." Dyce, too, produces a parallel from *Lucrece*, which tells in favour of Pope's emendation. Mr Harrison, however, preferred to keep the discarded reading, which in the Cambridge *Shakspere* is restored.

IV. i. 52,—"I *taske* the earth to the like, foresworn Aumerle" (Q1). "I *take* the earth" (Q2, 3, 4); "I taske thee, earth" (Capell); "I take thy oath" (Johnson); "I take oath" (S. Walker, *metri gratiâ*); "I taske thy *heart*" (Steevens, rearranging the letters in "earth"). The reading of Q1 is explained as meaning "I put the earth to the task of bearing the burthen of my gage." This, Mr Harrison thought, was exceedingly forced, but he had no suggestion to make.

IV. i. 119,—"Of noble Richard! then true *noblesse* would," &c.

So Q1; corrupted into "noblenesse" in all the other Quartos and Folios, at the expense of the metre, and the loss of a good old word.

IV. i. 149,—"Lest child, child's children cry against you woe."

Pope suggested "children's children." Mr Harrison suggested a much slighter alteration, "Lest child's child's children cry against you woe."

IV. i. 186,—"The emptier ever dancing in the air,
The other down, unseen, and full of water."

Johnson says rightly, "This is a comparison not easily accommodated to the subject." The comparison must be made between "empty" and "full," not more or less full. And one bucket ought to be quite empty, which gives the point of the sarcasm as against the usurper. Not only is it the bucket which is ascending that is always full, but being full it does not dance either. By removing the "r" from the end of "emptier," or by exchanging "r" for "d," the objection vanishes and the simile is perfectly consistent.

"Whilst you *mount up* on high." Shakspere uses "to mount" in the sense of to "stand" or "sit" high, as well as "to move towards an eminence" (*Pericles*, II. i. 163; *All's Well*, I. i. 206).

IV. i. 237,—"Nay of you, that stand and look upon."

The Folios and Q5 alter this to

"Nay *all* of you that stand and look upon *me*."

Dyce and the Cambridge editors very properly reject the added "me," and show by citations from other plays that Shakspere uses "look upon" in the intransitive sense; but they retain the "all" added by the Folios. This Mr Harrison would reject also.

IV. i. 255,—"I have no name, no title,
No, *not that name was given me at the font*,
But 'tis usurped."

This is a real textual difficulty, though it is one of exegesis rather than one connected with the emendation of the text. The allusion here is not evident at first sight. Annotators have hardly noticed, and not explained it. But what Richard says was the literal truth. In a contemporary French chronicle, 'Le chronicque de la traïson et mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre,' Mr Harrison finds this passage: "Adonc respondi le recorde de ceulx de Londres. Seigneurs il est ordone de par tous les prelaz et par tous les seigneurs du conseil et du comuns du royaume Dengleterre que *Jehan de Bordeaulx, qui fut nôme Roy Richart Dengleterre* est jugie et codampne a estre en une prison royal." And again, "a leure faire delivrer de cest monde *Jehan de Londres, lequel fut nome Richart*." The Lancastrian party, says the chronicler, in order the better to justify their treatment of King Richard, set up the story that he was not the real son of the Black Prince, but the offspring of his faithless princess and of a canon of Bordeaux; and they gave him accordingly the nickname of "John of London." Hence, doubtless, the allusion.

V. i. 25,—

"Our holy lives must win a new world's crown,
Which our profane hours here have thrown down."

So the Quartos. The Folios alter "thrown" to "stricken," probably on account of the metre. But that the Quartos have the true reading Mr Harrison did not doubt; for we have in III. iv. 65—

"Had he done so, himselfe had borne the crowne
Which waste and idle hours hath quite *throwne downe.*"

V. ii. 27, 28,—

"Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes
Did scowl on gentle Richard; no man cried, God save him."

So the Quartos. Folio 1 cuts out "gentle," making the line scan. Mr Harrison could not give up "gentle," and believed the lines should read—

"Even so, with more contempt, men's eyes did scowl
On gentle Richard; no man cried God save him."

V. ii. 38,—"To whose high will we bound our calme contents."

So Quartos and Folios. "Bound" has been objected to, and altered to "bow." But "bow our calm contents" is hardly English. Capell, evidently taking "bound" to be a present indicative, suggested "bind." But may not "bound" be the past tense of the verb "to bind"? Notice that York is speaking of *the past.*

V. iii. 137. A good instance of the way in which F1 has corrupted the text, and with it the meaning, of the Quartos. The line stands in the Quartos—

"But for our trusty brother-in-law, *and* the Abbot."

The Folios drop the "and," making Bolingbroke's brother-in-law and the Abbot the same, whereas they were two different persons.

V. v. 13, 14. Instead of "the word . . . against the word," which is the reading of Q1, 2, 3, 4, Ff. and Q5 read "set the *faith* itself against the faith." But was not this intended as an addition, not a substitute? By adding it we get a perfect line—

". . . And do set the word itself
Against the word, the faith against the faith."

V. v. 31. This is a good instance of the value of Q1, which reads—

"Thus play I in one *person* many people,"

whereas all the other editions read "prison," a manifest corruption.

V. v. 50-58,—

"My thoughts are minutes; and with sighs they iarre
Their watches on unto mine eyes, the outward watch," &c.

Whether the difficulty be a corruption in the text or an obscure allusion in the words, it seems impossible to make a satisfactory explanation of it.

The difficulties are—

(1) What do the tears symbolize, and what office do the matters they symbolize fulfil as regards the clock?

(2) How can thoughts which are minutes act along with (or by means of) sighs, which are the mechanism by means of which the clock registers minutes?

(3) How do tears show times, and what are times?

Mr Harrison could only hazard as a conjecture, that on the face of the clock there is supposed to be a smaller dial to register a minute. Thus we have two things, as the text states, which contribute to the indication of the minute—the sigh as the mechanical impelling force, and the tear as the object which is seen to be impelled, and which by its motion measures the minute. The *groan* shows the hour. But what then of "times"? "Times" has nothing corresponding with it in the imagery Shakspere has given us. It must, therefore, be regarded simply as an adjunct of "minutes," taking minutes as a genitive plural.

> "So sighs and tears, and groans
> Show minutes' times, and hours."

V. v. 70,—"Where no man *never* comes."

So the Quartos: this is altered to "ever" in F1, thus destroying a characteristic Shaksperianism—the double negative.

V. vi. 8,—

> "The heads of Oxford, Salisbury, Blunt and Kent" (Q1).

"The heads of Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt and Kent," Q3, 4, Ff., and Q5. Q1 is incorrect here; the correction accords with Holinshed.

V. vi. 35. A corruption of text by all but Q1.

> "Exton, I thanke thee not, for thou hast wrought
> A deed of *slaunder*, with thy fatal hand."

So Q1. "A deed of *slaughter*," Q2, 3, 4, Ff.; again robbing us of a thoroughly Shaksperian phrase.

(*Eighty-fifth Meeting, Friday, February* 9, 1883.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary read the statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1882, and a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the honorary auditors, Mr F. D. Matthew and Mr E. Bell, for their kind services.

Dr Nicholson mentioned that the state of his health compelled him reluctantly to give up the idea of proceeding with his paper on the *Sonnets*, set down for the next meeting, and the Chairman announced that a paper on "Massinger and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," by Mr R. Boyle of St Petersburg, would be substituted for it.

A paper was then read by Miss Grace Latham on "The Witches of Shakspere." Miss Latham said that under Elizabeth the mass of the people had a deeply-rooted faith in witches and witchcraft, running through and influencing their whole lives, and that found its echo in a large number of plays, where it was introduced in the

most serious situations. For example, early in *Othello*, where to place the hero in an absurd light would wreck the tragedy, he is gravely accused of having won Desdemona by "witchcraft," "spells," and "*conjured* drams." Miss Latham proceeded to draw a comparison between Middleton's treatment of witchlore in his fine play, *The Witch*, and Shakspere's in *Macbeth*, showing that while the three scenes of "Hecate, the Witch," were both extraordinarily fine and powerful, yet from the construction of the drama and the relation in which she stands to the other characters, the effect she was intended to produce was lost. She is in no way a motive power in the piece, and does not appear till the interest of the audience has been claimed by other characters; these visit and consult her, but their impulse to do so proceeds from themselves or from circumstances; they are not influenced by her, and, once they are outside her cavern, the play goes on as though no occult influence were hanging over their lives. She has no foreknowledge, and must ask her clients' wishes before she can serve them, while her power is even questioned by the duchess; whereas Macbeth's hags know of his intended visit beforehand, and are found preparing the charm which raises the lying spirits that they will not even suffer him to question, but which answer to his thoughts. The charming Isabella, too, takes the sympathy of the audience from Hecate. *The Witch* is also overweighted with learning, crammed with obsolete Latin words and witch recipes; in Shakspere, on the contrary, the witch scenes are characterized by their extreme simplicity, and while as learned on the subject as his contemporaries, all his allusions to witch-brews or practices are taken from the then common superstitions, or from the plays or witch trials of his time, his aim being to touch the populace, not the learned only.

His object in writing *Macbeth* was to concentrate the interest of his audience on the soul-life of the thane of Glamis; but also, while throwing the three witches into the background, to make them pervade the whole play, to direct its action, and to link them indissolubly with Macbeth's fate. Thus they open the play, and we first hear his name from their lips as that of a creature for whom they are lying in wait, and though their scenes are few, the allusions to them are so frequent and so carefully chosen, that they hold their place quite as much by what is said of them as by their own words or deeds, and we feel their presence even when they are absent from the stage. Everything is done to increase their importance; Macbeth finds on inquiry that report gives them "more than mortal knowledge"; the practical, reasonable Lady Macbeth believes at once in the truth of their prophecies, and she herself is painted in such dark colours that she cannot throw them into the shade. The night of Duncan's murder is full of dire portents, wild cries, and spirit voices, and thus the supernatural effect is kept that Middleton so completely loses.

There is a curious parallel between Banquo's speech,—

> "But 'tis strange:
> And oftentimes, to win us to our harm,
> The instruments of darkness tell us truths;
> Win us with honest trifles, to betray us
> In deepest consequence."—(I. iii.)

and the line of argument of one George Gifford, a country clergyman, who published in 1593 a book called, *A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraft*, where he maintained that they were not nearly such powerful beings as was generally supposed, but were always laying traps to cause men to sin. "The divels," he says, "make a show of doing good to men, only from a most cruel and murderous purpose, even to draw men deeper into the pit of hell with them" (edition of 1603). Banquo appears to represent the rising scepticism on the subject. Glendower, in 1 *Hen. IV.*, is a magician of a higher class, one who commanded devils, instead of being, like a witch, subservient to them; but his dramatic capabilities are not developed, lest he should become too prominent a figure in the play.

Speaking of the *Tempest*, Miss Latham said that though occupying a larger space, the spirit life has a far less important place than in *Macbeth*, their office being merely to help forward the action of the piece, and to contrast with the human characters. She contrasted the coarse, tipsy Trinculo and Stephano with the demi-devil Caliban, who is evil through and through, but poetical and grand as befits his origin, and compared him with Middleton's Firebrace, who, having the same parentage, is a mere vicious country lout. Miranda and Ariel, too, form another fine contrast, he belonging to one of the most delicate forms of spirit life, she of human nature. He is good through absence of evil, she through the instinctive choice of right; he has no power to feel, but perceives the sufferings of others through his mental faculty, she is full of warm, quick human sympathy.

Scycorax having imprisoned Ariel in a cloven pine, could not undo her work, and Miss Latham cited a curious instance from the *Spalding Miscellany*, where Marion Grant was asked by a sister witch to take off for her a charm she had herself cast on a mill.

In *Midsummer Night's Dream* we have the pastoral side of spirit life, freed from all coarseness, though touching on the loves of the Queen of Elphane with human mortals, a subject found in different guise in trials of the time.

Shakspere, caring more for the real problems of human life, has made witch and spirit lore always rather an accessory than a principal interest, but working through a series of hints and indications, clear in direction and vague in boundary only, he produces a greater effect in smaller compass than did his contemporaries.

Mr Furnivall reminded the meeting that the subject had occupied the attention of the Society before (*v.* "Spalding's Demonology"). Miss Latham had well brought out the influence that the witches had all through the play of *Macbeth*, an influence, nevertheless, completely subdued and kept back in order that the central figure might stand forth, that the great *human* interest might be the stronger. Mr Furnivall thought that Middleton's *Witch* was written after *Macbeth*. Its inferiority to Shakspere's work was very marked. It was a question whether Shakspere had not meant, in the Incantation scene, to show people what he really thought of the whole thing, by producing all these vulgar details.

Dr Bayne expressed admiration for the paper, and a general and cordial acquiescence in Miss Latham's views, stating that, though he had followed the reading closely, he had not met with a single point of decided difference. Miss Latham had, he thought, been felicitously right in laying stress upon Shakspere's tact in avoiding, in the description of the ingredients of the witches' cauldron, both the recondite and the disgusting items on which contemporary dramatists of more learning, but less imagination and less sense, might have dwelt. It was almost incredible, for example, with what exhaustless stores of mythological and other erudition Greene heaped ornamentation on his productions,—the speaker referred particularly to Greene's novels,—all of which ornamentation was now as dead and as dreary as the filigree on old coffins. He could not say that he felt with Mr Furnivall as to the element of fun in the *Macbeth* witches. From boyhood he had appreciated rather their dignity and real, though picturesque, awfulness. But in fact the electric glare of modern science was destroying our capacity to shudder even momentarily at imaginations of the preternatural; and we might conclude that Burns in *Tam o' Shanter* had for the last time made successful use in art of the ancient, eerie interest—half terror, half curiosity—with which other generations regarded apparitions. Even of Burns's handling of his witch story in *Tam o' Shanter*, Carlyle, in his classic essay on the poet, had spoken half reproachfully. What, however, impressed the speaker most deeply in Shakspere's use of his witches, was the *finality* of his treatment in respect of intellectual and ethical estimate of the entire phenomenon of the witch-oracular in human history.

> "And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd,
> That palter with us in a double sense:
> That keep the word of promise to our ear,
> And break it to our hope."

There it is. The sublime humbug of Delphi, the mystic, muffled obscurity of the Dodona grove,—this is the net value of it all! Supreme reason, supreme imagination, using one voice, Shakspere's have spoken, and henceforward and for ever "the oracles are dumb."

MR HARRISON noticed that at the end of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* the working of the fairies was distinctly *anti-witch*.

DR NICHOLSON said, with regard to the priority of date of *Macbeth* and Middleton's *Witch*, that while the former is 1606, the latter, as shown by *some* of Malone's arguments, is later. And he would now notice another. In II. i. Isabel says—

> "He does intend
> To leave tobacco too; . . . .
> . . . . some knights' wives in town
> Will have great hope, upon his reformation
> To bring their husbands' breath into the old fashion."

Here, besides the mention of tobacco, we have "knights in town," and "their wives," not "their ladies," spoken of in a way which at once recalls to us James's thirty pound knights, and the time when they became common, a date much later than 1606. Altogether, also, Middleton's play reads to me like an attempt to make capital out of a subject rendered popular in part by Shakspere's play, and which, like most imitations, was, as he tells us, an "ill-fated labour . . that long laid in imprisoned obscurity."

As to the argument that *The Witch* contains the lines "Black spirits," &c. in full, while our copy of *Macbeth* gives only the first words, and therefore presupposed the existence of *The Witch*, it was to Dr Nicholson no argument at all. Could Shakspere, or any improver of the play, or copier, refer the actor's memory to a passage in a previous and unsuccessful play? It is even contrary to all probability that he would refer him to such in an ordinarily successful play. The natural conclusion from the wording in *Macbeth* (F.) surely is that the words were well known. We should refer in the same way to the song of "Rule Britannia," &c. That it was so here is also shown by this, that Middleton refers to it again in I. ii., commencing "Titty and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, . . white spirits, black spirits, grey spirits, red spirits!" &c. But especially by this, that the first line occurs, all but verbatim, in R. Scot's *Discourse on Devils and Spirits*, ch. xxxiii., where they are spoken of as Brian Darcie's spirits, &c., as apparently noted in a book by W. W., mentioned in the margin on [the trial of] witches at St. Osee, Essex.

As to the witch scenes in *Macbeth*, as I believe, a political play, Dr Nicholson would explain them thus. James was a strong upholder of the existence of witches. Hence, just as Hell had, as he believed, tried to destroy him on his voyage from Denmark, again at the Carse of Gowrie, and now by the Gunpowder Plot, from which last in especial he had been by special providence preserved, so Shakspere would set forth to all that the same attempt had been made hundreds of years before to thwart the predestined decrees of heaven and destroy the line of his ancestor Banquo, but with the like unsuccess. That James leant much on this pedigree is proved by these things.

First, that at Oxford, in 1605, he was received at St. John's College by three students, who repeated verses descriptive of this descent. Secondly, that in the Scottish Bellenden's translation of *The History of Scotland*, by Boethius, there is a hand pointing to the paragraph containing the pedigree.

The allusion to Garnet in the Porter's speech was the only indirect way in which Shakspere could lead the spectator to reflect that the story of Macbeth showed, like the Gunpowder Plot, that it was the decree of heaven, against which the devices of hell were powerless, that James should

"A twofold ball and treble sceptre carry."

(*Eighty-sixth Meeting, Friday, March* 9, 1883.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

A paper by Mr Robert Boyle, of the St Petersburg Shakspere Circle, on *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and Massinger's probable share in the play, was read. (The paper is printed in full.) A discussion followed on the authorship of the play, and the views of Mr Boyle and Dr H. Littledale on the subject.

MR FURNIVALL said that he was compelled to give up his former opinion that Shakspere was part-author of the play; he so constantly found in the play that a fine thought would be followed by an instant and decided falling off. The metre was broken, and the rhythm seemed not Shakspere's; and there was a want of flow, and a general diffuseness and sprawl.

DR B. NICHOLSON expressed his conviction that there was no passage that in expression, style, rhythm, or in any other way, showed itself Shakspere's; indeed, every passage showed the contrary, the plagiaristic phrases excepted. While not sure that the unknown coadjutor was Massinger, yet he thought him the most likely of those suggested. As yet he had not before him the evidence spoken of by Mr Boyle. The external evidence was not worth much. The play bore on its cover the names of Shakspere and Fletcher, but both were then dead. Shakspere's name was not given in the F. edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, nor was the play given in the 1623 F., or in any other edition of Shakspere's works, though *Henry VIII* had been. The prologue was not Shakspere's; the epilogue seemed to show a fear that the play would fail; and there was no reference to the great name of Shakspere, which *was* still essentially "a name to conjure with." Mr Boyle spoke of the "simplicity of the underplot"; this was surely a bit of special pleading. Nearly all underplots are simple. Emilia's conduct when, on the death of the one that she preferred, she immediately accepted the other, was surely most un-Shaksperian.

The Rev. W. A. Harrison took a rather negative view of Mr Boyle's paper; he could not accept his arguments as conclusive, and found the quotations brought forward as rather confirmatory of the Shakspere authorship. He agreed with Dyce, that Shakspere might have sketched the play, but that it was mainly the work of Fletcher, whose trail was over it all. Broken though the metre might be, he had never met with any metre so like Shakspere's.

Note.—Dr Peter Bayne's paper on "Shakspere and George Eliot," read at a meeting of the Society on 14th April, 1882, appears in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April 1883.

SCRAPS.

"Well, bawd I'll turn,
And something lean to cutpurse of quick hand."—
Henry V., V. i. 78-9.

The full force of this line in those days will be better understood after perusal of the following. Speaking of the Foist, the pickpocket, and of the Nip the cut-purse, Greene says—"But of theſe two ſcuruie trades, the Foiſt holdeth himſelfe of the higheſt degree, and therefore they tearme themſelues Gentlemen foiſts, and ſo much diſdaine to be called cut-purſes, as the honeſt man that liues by his hand or occupation, in ſo much that the Foiſt refuſeth euen to weare a knife about him to cut his meal withal, leaſt he might be ſuſpected to grow into the nature of the Nippe.—*The second part of Conny-Catching.* Grosart's reprint, p. 103.—B. N.

"Far from her nest the Lapwing cries away."—*Com. of Err.* IV. ii.

That this was a proverbial expression, expressed almost in these very words, here slightly altered to make an iambic line, seems probable from the following:

"cry with the Lapwing fartheſt from their neſt."—

The first part of Greene's Notable Discouiry of Coosinage. Grosart's reprint, p. 77.—B. N.

Malvolio's Chain. Twelfth Night, II. iii.

Sir Bounteous Progress describes himself as "a [rich] ordinary country knight."

"*Sir B.* Run, sirrah! call in my chief gentleman i' th' chain of gold;

* * * * * * *

Enter Gumwater. II. i.

Maw. . . master Gumwater.

Fol[ly wit]. That's my grandsire's chief gentleman i' th' **chain of gold**: that he should live to be a pander, and yet look upon his **chain** and his velvet jacket!—III. iii.

Gum. . . yet I have fifty pound a year, wench.

Fol. [disguised as the Courtezan]. Beside your apparel, sir?

Gum. Yes, faith, have I.

Fol. But then you reckon your **chain**, sir.

Gum. No, by my troth . . faith . . sweet lady, you might admit a choise gentleman into your service.

* * * * * * *

Fol. Why, I bind you by virtue of this **chain** to meet me to-morrow at the Flower-de-luce."

Middleton's *A Mad World, my Masters,* publ. 1608 (ed. Dyce), I. ii.

Merry Greek. Tr. and Cr., I. ii. To show that it was a proverbial phrase (as now, so far as the word "Greek") take this,—

> "*Har.* Let me not be purloin'd—purloin'd, indeed!
> The **merry Greeks** conceive me—there's a gem
> I would not lose."—*Ibid.* I. ii.

windows of my eyes. Rich. III., V. iii. 116; *Ven. & Ad.* 482, *blue windows*, &c. Cotgrave.—"*Contre-fenestre:* f. A woodden window (on the outside of a glasen one), a counter window, or outward window." Similarly under *volet*[1], and so Sherwood under *window*, "a wooden *window* to shut over a glass one." Holy-oke's Rider's *Dict.* (1617) also has "a window . . . *Repagulum*," and under this latter word he gives "A barre that shutteth a door . . A stoppe, a let."—B. N.

Limb. '*Antony is but a limb of Cæsar.*' *Jul. Cæs.*, II. i., &c. Of course by a natural sequence the person, or that which is subordinate or an acting part, is called a "limb," and sometimes the word is used—naturally also—in a depreciatory sense, as in "the limbs of Limehouse," VIII.; V. iii. But it may be as well to note that "limb" was then used for "instrument." Batman, l. 5, c. 12, speaks of the ear as "the instrument or lymme of hearing," and twice more has "the lymme of hearing," while Bartholome, his original, has in the three instances only the word *instrumentum*. A limb of the devil is thus—the devil's instrument, not merely *a follower of* the devil.—B. N.

[1] *Volet* . . . a sheet, or woodden window to shut ouer a glasse one (as *Contre-fenestre*).

(*Eighty-seventh Meeting, Friday, April* 9, 1883.)

Dr Peter Bayne in the Chair.

Mr F. J. Furnivall read some notes by Mr W. G. Stone, joint editor with himself of the Society's Old-Spelling Shakspere, on some of the Textual Difficulties in *All's Well* and *Twelfth Night*. Mr Stone, after pointing out that the principle of the "Old-Spelling" editors was to keep their basis-texts intact, by rejecting fancy emendations for conjectural explanations, preferring interpreting to emending, passed to *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 126-7 (Cambridge Shaks.), as a good illustration. Here Sir Andrew says of his leg, "it does indifferent well in a dam'd colour'd stocke." All editors—except Knight, who reads "damask-coloured"—have adopted Rowe's "flame-coloured." Mr Stone accepted Dr Nicholson's explanation (*Notes and Queries*, 5th S. xi. 124) that Sir Andrew's stockings were black or dusk-coloured. In commenting on another passage in Shakspere, Dr Nicholson brought together a number of proofs that hell was regarded in mediæval and Elizabethan times as a place that was dark, and even pitch-dark. So when Malvolio was confined in a dark room, to the clown's question, "sayst thou this house is darke?" Malvolio replies, "As hell, Sir Topas." So later, in Milton:

> "A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round
> As one great Furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
> No light, but rather darkness visible
> Serv'd only to discover sights of woe," &c.—*P. L.*, i. 61—63.

Moreover, Mr Furnivall found in Cotgrave, under *Couleur*, "Couleur d'enfer. as much as, Noir-brun enfumé;" and under *Enfer*, "Couleur d'enfer. A darke, and smoakie browne." It might be that the colour of the inmates, rather than their habitation, suggested the epithet "dam'd colour'd." Devils have been always supposed to be black, and a flea on Bardolph's nose was likened to "a blacke soule burning in Hell." Should these explanations seem forced, we have another, offered by Mr R. M. Spence, who understands, by "dam'd colour'd stocke", chequered hose. He informs the readers of *Notes and Queries* (5th S. xi. 205) that "to this day old people among the peasantry of Scotland speake of any checkered garment as being of the 'dambrod,' *Anglicè* 'draught-board,' pattern."

When Malvolio is bending all his wits to decipher the mysterious letters M. O. A. I., Sir Toby whispers aside, "O, I, make vp that:

he is now at a cold sent"; to which Fabian responds, "Sowter will cry vpon't for all this, *though it bee as ranke as a Fox.*" Struck with the inconsistency of this, Hanmer read, "Though it ben't (be not) as rank as a fox." But Mr Stone held that a comic paradox was intended, the joke being similar to Grumio's, when he says of Katherine that "shee shal haue no more eies to see withall then a *Cat;*" a cat being remarkable for its keenness of vision. Mr Stone could not accept Dr Nicholson's emendation "crank (*i. e.* winding) as a fox," because, like Hanmer's "ben't", it made sense of what is intended to be nonsense.

In *Twelfth Night*, III. iii. 13—16, there was a serious crux. Sebastian replies to Antonio's friendly proffer in these words:

> "My kinde Anthonio,
> I can no other answer make, but thankes,
> And thankes: and euer oft good turnes
> Are shuffel'd off with such vncurrant pay:" &c.

Thus the Folio. Rigidly adhering to their principle, the editors of the *Old-Sp. Sh.* conjecture that "ever oft" means *with perpetual iteration.* Of conjectural readings that supplied the missing words, Mr Stone thought Theobald's "and thanks, and ever *thanks: and* oft good turns", and Lettsom's "and thanks, and ever *thanks: though* oft good turns", the best.

Difficulties in *All's Well.* Very early in this play—Act I. sc. i.—a few words have perhaps been lost. At the close of Helena's jesting talk with Parolles, she says (in reply to Parolles' enquiry, "Will you any thing with it", *i. e.* virginity), "Not my virginity yet:" the last word being punctuated with a colon. Hanmer added to "Not my virginity yet" the connecting words, "You're for the Court." After "Will you any thing with it", Malone proposed to insert "We are for the Court!" The Cambridge editors left a hiatus after "Not my virginity yet," and would have doubted the genuineness of the passage which follows, were it not for the "world of pretty, fond, adoptious christendoms, That blinking Cupid gossips;" which is so much in Shakspere's manner. [The discontinuity in the text better marks Helena's abrupt outburst as to Bertram, of whom her heart and mind have all along been full.—Edd. *Old-Sp. Sh.*]

II. i. 142.

> "Where hope is coldest, and despaire most *shifts.*"

Most editors read either *sits* or *fits.* Mr Stone ventured, very diffidently, to defend the Folio reading, on the plea that despair is supposed (metaphorically) to shift its ground from one untenable position to another. [We have accepted Pope's emendation, *sits.*—Edd. *Old-Sp. Sh.*]

III. iii. 146, 7. When Bertram persists in his rejection of Helena, the King exclaims,

"My Honor's at the stake, which to defeate
I must produce my power."

Which to defeate; that is, the dishonour which Bertram's refusal will bring upon me, a thought unexpressed by the king. [Or "the mere fact that the king's honour is at the stake, like a criminal, is in itself a dishonour, *which to defeate,* he says,—to defeat which dishonourable predicament,—*I must produce my power.*"—B. N.]

Theobald changed *defeat* to *defend.* Tyrwhitt defended the Folio reading on the ground that the French word "defaire" (whence our "defeat") signified to *free,* to *disembarrass,* as well as to *destroy.*

We now came to a crux of extraordinary difficulty.

IV. ii. 38, 39. In answer to Bertram's protestations of fidelity, Diana says,

"I see that men make *rope's* in such a *scarre,*
That wee'l forsake our selues."

The various emendations that have ever been proposed, it would be wearisome to recount: the conjectural explanations, however, it might be well to consider. Knight alone dared to keep both *ropes* and *scarre* in his text, explaining *scarre* as a rock—a precipitous cliff—and thus, figuratively, a difficulty to be surmounted. "Men," says Diana, "pretend to show how we can overpass the obstacle. Such terms as 'love is holy,' 'my love shall perséver' (spoken by Bertram), are the *ropes* by the aid of which the steep rock is to be climbed. The ropes 'that we'll forsake, ourselves,' are the supports of which we ourselves lose our hold after we have unwisely trusted to them." W. B., a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* (5th S. i. 305), asserted that *scarre* is not a precipice, but a *hollow, chasm,* or *fissure;* and that "to be in a scarre" is metaphorically equivalent to "being in a hole." W. B. thus paraphrased these lines: "I see that men in so deep a pit of difficulty make themselves ropes, whereby to extricate themselves, the material out of which they form them being the hope that women will prove unfaithful to themselves and their firmest convictions."

R. R. (Robert Roberts of Boston) supported W. B.'s definition of *scarre* by quotations; as to *ropes* he quoted these lines from *Naps upon Parnassus,* 1658, A. vi.:

"To praise thy wit I cannot hope,
It is so dark, I ne're shall grope
It out, but by *Ariadne's Rope,*"

applying them thus: "Men in the 'fix' of Bertram—in such a 'scarre'—wishing to persuade women to act in an unwomanly manner—to 'forsake themselves'—will furnish them with excuses and sophistical reasons—will make 'ropes' to give them, as Ariadne did to Theseus to guide him in the labyrinth."—*N. & Q.,* 6th S. i. 333.

Entirely different meanings were given both to *ropes* and *scarre* by J. D. (John Davies, Belsize Square), another correspondent of *Notes and Queries*. *Rope* he believed to be the O. Friesic rôp, a loud outcry. So in Layamon's *Brut*, 12,540: "There was wop (weeping), there was rôp (wailing)." *Scarre*, in Shakspere's time, was a common form of *scare*. In the *Craven Glossary* we have this quotation from K. James on F. More: "All your speeches and hard conditions shall not *scarre* us." And in *Romeo and Juliet*, V. iii. 262, F. text, "But then, a noyse did *scarre* me from the Tombe." *Forsake* meant primarily, as the O. F. *forsaka* and German *versagen*, to refuse, to deny. B. R[ich], in *Greenes Newes both from Heauen and Hell*, 1593, sign. D 2, back, introduces a bricklayer "who forsooke to goe into heauen because his wife was there." Moreover in this play, the King says to Helena, concerning the young Lords offered to her choice,

"thy franke election make,
Thou hast the power to choose, and they none to *forsake*."

These preliminaries being settled, J. D. thus explains the difficulty. "Bertram has been protesting vehemently to Diana, and she replies, 'I see that men make loud protestations in the fear that we'll refuse (to give) ourselves.' She adds, therefore, because she wished to have something more substantial, 'Give me that ring.'"—*N. & Q.*, 5th S. viii. 182; x. 145.

Mr Stone concluded by tabulating the various definitions of *rope* and *scarre* which he had collected.

rope = rope; *scarre* = cliff.—Knight.
rope = rope; *scarre* = ravine.—W. B.
rope = clue; *scarre* = ravine.—R. R.
rope = outcry; *scarre* = scare.—J. D.

In addition to the above, Mr Stone had been informed by Dr Nicholson that he had met with an allusion to a method of catching deer by enclosing them with *ropes* held in men's hands; the men gradually contracting the circle, and driving the game closer and closer together. Diana then means that Bertram imagined he should, by his arguments, *scare* or drive her from each defence in turn, till she yielded, having no counter-argument to urge.

A note by Mr W. G. Black upon a passage in *Antony and Cleopatra* was read by Mr Furnivall, the passage being in Act III. viii. 16—18.

Eno. How appears the fight?
Scar. On our side like the token'd pestilence,
Where death is sure.

This passage, Mr Black held, showed Shakspere's knowledge of one of the superstitions prevalent in his day—the ancient personification of disease, the presaging apparition, or "death-angel", after which "death is sure."

In the discussion which followed, Dr Nicholson preferred to understand the "token'd pestilence" as the pestilence denoted by marks, or plague-spots, on the body.

Mr Furnivall also read a paper by Miss Isabel Marshall on *Cymbeline* and *A Winter's Tale*. Miss Marshall said that the reading of the plays of Shakspere's Fourth Period left us conscious of a sense of harmony quite different to the feeling remaining in our minds after finishing one of the earlier ones. After reading one of the earlier plays, or one of the stern Third Period, our strongest sensation was of the life-like reality of the characters, or the earnestness and mystery of life and its duties. But in the later plays, the lasting impression was not so much of the seriousness of life as of its beauty. Miss Marshall then dealt with the close similarity between *Cymbeline* and the *Winter's Tale*—the two husbands, both falsely suspicious, receiving the same punishment—the loss of the children in both, the prophecy and oracle literally fulfilled, &c.; and noted a little touch of character in Imogen—that patience was not her strong point: she would fain be courteous and gentle even to Cloten, but he tried her beyond endurance. We saw it also in her eagerness for news of her husband, and her impatience to join him at Milford, which blinded her to the equivocal tone of his letter. In both these plays we found evidence of Shakspere's belief in noble birth, its influence appearing unconsciously both in Guiderius and Arviragus and in Perdita, as well as the advantage of simplicity and the influence of nature in early years. Perdita was, indeed, what all the heroines of this Fourth Period were, a perfect poem. In conclusion Miss Marshall remarked that *Winter's Tale*, which was a later play than *Cymbeline*, was altogether more light-hearted. It had no characters so wicked as the Queen and Iachimo; and while in *Cymbeline* the lighter pastoral scenes were saddened by the death of Fidele and Cloten, and the world-weariness of Belarius, in *Winter's Tale* the corresponding scenes were enlivened by the mirth of Autolycus, and we felt certain that the king's anger was only transitory and all must turn out well.

(*Eighty-eighth Meeting, Friday, May* 11, 1883.)

The Society's Musical Evening was held in the Botany Theatre, University College, and a selection of Shakspere's Madrigals, Glees, and Songs, in Chronological order, was sung, a programme of which will be found in the Appendix.

(*Eighty-ninth Meeting, Friday, June* 8, 1883.)

Mr F. J. Furnivall, *Director*, in the Chair.

A vote of thanks to the Council of University College for allowing the Society the use of rooms in the College, was unanimously passed.

Dr B. Nicholson read a paper on the Textual Difficulties in *Winter's Tale;* and each difficulty was discussed by the meeting as it was brought forward.

Mr T. Tyler read a note upon a passage in *Cymbeline,* III. iii., "Nobler than attending for a check."

SCRAPS.

Intellect, sb. signature. *Love's Labour's Lost,* IV. ii. 137. Prof. T. S. Baynes, in the second of his admirable papers on "What Shakespeare learnt at School," says, *Fraser's Mag.,* Jan. 1880, p. 90-2:—"Love's Labour's Lost" supplies a curious piece of evidence tending to show that he [Shakspere] had gone through a course of technical training in the elements of Rhetoric. It consists of a rare, and in many ways a remarkable, technicality occurring in the speech of Holofernes about the writer of the letter:—

"*Hol.* I will overglance the superscript: 'To the snow-white hand of the most beauteous Lady Rosaline.' I will look again upon the **intellect** of the letter, for the nomination of the party writing to the person written unto: 'Your Ladyship's in all desired employment, Biron.'—Sir Nathaniel, this Biron is one of the votaries with the king; and here he hath framed a letter to a sequent of the stranger queen's, which accidentally, or by the way of progression, hath miscarried."

In the unfamiliar use of this familiar term Holofernes is simply parading his knowledge of rhetorical technicalities. As a rhetorical exercise the boys of the upper school were required, in reading the poets, to pick out the figures of speech, enter them in a note-book, and give to each its technical name or names. In the classification of the figures common to the older manuals of rhetoric synecdoche usually follows metaphor, and the Latin equivalent of synecdoche is *intellectio.* Being given in the school manuals, this technical use of the term *intellectio* would be familiar to most who had received a training in the elements of rhetoric. But its precise meaning and range of application in this connection will be made clear by an extract from Wilson's English "Arte of Rhetorique," published before Shakespeare was born. Wilson, following a tendency common in his day, endeavoured to Anglicise the technical terms of his art; and, where this could not conveniently be done, he often selected the better known Latin equivalent instead of the original Greek word. Thus he translates synecdoche by *intellection,* of which he gives the following account:—

"*Intellection,* called of the Grecians synecdoche, is a Trope, where we gather, or judge, the whole by the part, or part by the whole. As thus: The king is come to London, meaning therby

that other also be come with him. The Frenche manne is good to kepe a fort, or to skirmishe on horsbacke, whereby we declare the Frenchmen generally. By the whole, the part, thus:—All Cambridge sorrowed for the death of Bucer, meanying the moste parte. All England rejoiceth that pilgrimage is banished, and Idolatrie for ever abolished: and yet all England is not gladde but the moste parte."

Intellection, Wilson also points out, is used in relation to signs and their significance for the mental act of realising by means of the sign the thing signified. He illustrates this meaning as follows:—

"By the signe we understande the thing signified, as by an Ivie garland we judge there is wine to sell. By the signe of a Bear, Bull, Lion, or any soche, we take any hous to be an Inne. By eating bread at the Communion, we remember Christes death, and by fath receive him spirituallie."

The precise signification of *Intellect* in Holofernes' speech will now be apparent. It really means the sign-manual or signature of the letter. The signature is the sign reflecting and revealing the thing signified, which is of course the writer of the letter. *Intellect*, in this sense, is the object, the sign, and its significance, of which *intellection* is the act, the perception of the related terms. As a name for the signature of a letter it is thus strictly analogous to *superscript*, as a name for its address. As superscription is properly the act of writing an address, and superscript the address written, so *intellection* is the act of interpreting or understanding a sign, and *intellect* the sign interpreted or understood. I may add that the use of the verb in this sense was not unknown in the literature of Shakespeare's day. The following extract from a rare and curious book, "The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction," by Richard Linche (1599), will illustrate Shakespeare's peculiar use of the noun:—

"Because the description of the Spring, the Summer, Autumn, and Winter are with everie one very familiar, I will cease to proceed therein, commemorating that onely of Ovid, when he speaketh of the regale seat of Phœbus:—

> Before divine Apolloes regall seat
> The beauteous Spring sits crown'd with curious flowers,
> Next whom (with eares of corne about her head)
> The Summer sits in her all-parching heat,
> And Autumne (dyde with juice of grapes) downepoures
> A world of new-made wine of purest red,
> Next whom (as placed all in due arow)
> Sits grim-faced Winter covered all with snow.

These stations are many times thus *intellected:* by the Spring is meant Venus: the Summer signifies Ceres: Autumne challengeth Bacchus: and for the Winter we oftentimes understand Vulcan; and sometimes the winds with Æolus the commander, because from

these proceed those tempestuous storms which are commonly predominant in that season."

Here it will be seen that the verb *to intellect* is used in the strict technical sense of interpreting a sign, just as Shakespeare uses the noun for the sign interpreted. But although the word had this special meaning, none but a dominie bent on displaying his knowledge of scholastic technicalities would have designated the signature of a letter in this high-flown and pedantic style. The most strained and far-fetched terms are, however, quite natural in the mouth of Holofernes. But it may be safely asserted that only one trained in the elements of Rhetoric could have added this characteristic touch in drawing the portrait of the school pedant.

Early marriages in Italy: Romeo and Juliet, I. ii. 7—13.

"*Capu.* My Child is yet a stranger in the world;
Shee hath not seene the change of fourteene yeares;
Let two more Summers wither in their pride,
Ere we may thinke her ripe to be a Bride.
Pari. Younger then she are happy mothers made.
Capu. And too soone mar'd are those so early made."

In describing the ancient state of Florence, Cacciaguida told Dante:

"Non faceva nascendo ancor paura
La figlia al padre, chè *il tempo* e la dote
Non fuggian quinci e quindi la misura."
Paradiso, xv. 103-105.

"Time was not yet,
When at his daughter's birth the sire grew pale,
For fear the age and dowry should exceed,
On each side, just proportion."
Cary's translation. He adds this note: "When the women were not married at too early an age, and did not expect too large a portion."—W. G. Stone.

Dan Cupid: L. L. L. III. 1.

(1) "For why? his [Greene's] pen hath paynted out **dan Cupid's** craft."

Also—

"or Virgil's . . .

(2) **Dan** Ouids natiue land may striue to bear the bell:"

(3) Florian, an Italian nobleman and courtier, writes a letter which is said in a sort of announcement to be from **Dan** Florian, while the letter itself is signed **Dan** Florian.

3 is from Greene's *Mamillia* as above, p. 37. 1 and 2 are from Roger Portington's commendatory verses before it, p. 11.—B. N.

(*Ninetieth Meeting, Friday, October* 12, 1883.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

This being the opening meeting of the Eleventh Session, the proceedings were prefaced by some remarks from the Chairman, in which he reviewed the general progress of the Society, and its work during the last session, commenting on the fact that the Society was now receiving and making use of papers of value from members in Russia, Canada, the United States, &c. He then spoke of the Society's "Old-Spelling" edition of Shakspere's works, still at press, and mentioned some of the many difficulties the editors had to contend with, which would have the effect of delaying the issue of the first three volumes to members until about March 1884. He then read the following resolution which the committee had passed: "The Committee of the New Shakspere Society desires (1) to express their sympathy with Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Smith in the calamity which has befallen them in the cruel death of their gifted daughter, Miss Teena Rochfort Smith; (2) to record their sense of the great loss which the cause of Shakspere study in general, and the Society in particular, has sustained by the loss of the accomplished and devoted editress of the *Four-Text Hamlet* and other Shaksperian work undertaken, but of which death has prevented the accomplishment." He himself, the Chairman said, had in Miss Rochfort Smith lost his right hand, his greatest helper and friend, the reader of his every proof and revise, the supplier of his many defects. Miss Rochfort Smith's *Four-Text Hamlet* would, he added, be finished by him, if possible; the Concordance to the *Old-Spelling Shakspere*, which she had contemplated making, must of course no longer be hoped for.

Dr Peter Bayne then read a paper on "The Supremacy of Shakspere"; and a vote of thanks having been unanimously passed to him, a discussion followed, the Chairman, Mr Craig, Miss Latham, Mr T. Tyler, Mr Shaw, and Mr Flügel taking part.

(*Ninety-first Meeting, Friday, November* 9, 1883.)

Rev. W. A. Harrison in the Chair.

Mr F. J. Furnivall read a paper by P. A. Daniel, Esq., on the Quarto (1597) and Folio of *Richard III*, the paper being Mr Daniel's

Introduction to the Facsimile of the First Quarto, which is being executed by W. Griggs and Son from the Duke of Devonshire's copy, and will shortly appear. The relation of these two versions to one another, and their origin and authority, was declared by the Cambridge Editors to be "perhaps the most difficult question which presents itself to an editor of Shakespeare." In the Society's *Transactions*, Mr Spedding had argued that the Folio was an incompletely revised version of the Quarto; Mr Pickersgill that the Quarto was the shortened actor's copy of the original work, the Folio the original work revised by some unknown hand. Both these and other critics assumed that the Folio was specially connected with Quarto 3. Mr Daniel showed that Quarto 6 was the Quarto closely related to the Folio, inasmuch as it shared with that exclusively twelve doubtful or erroneous readings, while it shared exclusively only one each with Quartos 3, 4, and 5, only two with Quarto 1, and none with Quarto 2. He then showed that, as many of the readings of Quarto 1 were manifest and intentional improvements and corrections of the Folio, Quarto 1 was a revised and shortened copy of the Folio, though often corrupted by its shortener, two characters being jammed into one, &c. He then showed that Heming and Condell, instead of putting their theatrical MS. into the hands of the printer, must have given to a transcriber or clerk a copy of Quarto 6 to correct by their MS. for printer's "copy." This clerk failed to correct many errors of Quarto 6, and they reappeared in the Folio printed from it, though a few were afterwards conjecturally emended by the printer or reader of the Folio proofs. The Folio must therefore be accepted as the play as first set forth by Shakspere, and the Quarto as a copy revised by Shakspere soon after his writing, or adaptation, of the play, but shortened and much confused and corrupted by its passage to and through the press. The Folio must be the basis of any edition of the play, but the deliberate improvements and additional lines of the Quarto must be adopted into the text, the Quarto corruptions being rejected.

In the discussion which followed, Mr Daniel's views were strongly approved by Mr Furnivall—who has partly edited the play on Mr Daniel's scheme—and other speakers. The Rev. W. A. Harrison gave the meeting a summary of the reasons of the Cambridge Editors for preferring the Quarto to the Folio as the basis of any text of *Richard III.* (α) Because it contains passages which are not found in the Folio, but which are essential to the understanding of the context. Whoever, therefore, cut these out, it could not have been Shakspere. (β) Because the Folio contains a vast number of alterations for the worse (as they contend), alterations which *metri gratiâ* spoil the sense; or which modernize an archaic word or phrase; or which, for the sake of avoiding tautology, dilute and weaken the force of the passage as it stands in the Quarto. Upon this, Mr Harrison went on, issue was joined; and it was contended (by Mr Spedding and others) that the passages omitted in the Folio had

been omitted through accidents of the press, not purposely by the corrector; that the alterations in the Folio *were* improvements by which blemishes were removed, by which the metre was amended *without* injury to the sense; and that Shakspere probably purposely removed many obsolete words which had become distasteful to him. Mr Pickersgill agreed with the Cambridge Editors, and contended (α) that of the passages said by Mr Spedding to be non-Shaksperian, about five-eighths could not be attributed to any other than the corrector of the play, and that therefore the corrector was not Shakspere. (β) That in the alterations to improve the metre, sense and terseness and propriety of language were sacrificed. (γ) He gave forty-five passages in which something original, striking, or forcible in idea in the Quarto was diluted into commonplace in the Folio; or in which a thoroughly Shaksperian turn of phrase was modified into what was prosaic or commonplace. (δ) That the additions (so altered) in the Folio were thoroughly in the metre and style of Shakspere.

(*Ninety-second Meeting, Friday, December* 14, 1883.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Rev. W. A. Harrison read, as a paper, Mr Richard Grant White's Preface to his new "Riverside" edition of Shakspere, the Chairman explaining that, owing to a misunderstanding as to the date of publication, the preface had not been laid before the Society, as was intended, before the appearance of the book. Mr Grant White declared his edition to be not a text-book for schools, but an edition for readers of general intelligence. In the text he gave his finished work, results, not processes, avoiding the wearying of the reader by giving, as was usual, all the various readings, and the discussion of them. Explanation of obsolete words and phrases was given whenever needed, but was never obtruded when the poet himself made clear his own allusions; and in cases of corrupt or uncertain passages some restorations were introduced. Some examples of these explanations and restorations were then given, and with these the meeting dealt.

Tempest, I. ii. 56: "Thy mother was a *piece* of virtue." Mr Grant White's contention that Shakspere, here and elsewhere, used *piece* as meaning a young woman—whether good or bad—was accepted. In *As You Like It*, I. iii. 11, his defence of the old change from the Folio reading "my childes father" to "my *father's child*" was rejected, the context showing such strong evidence in favour of the original reading. His emendation of the *Hamlet* passage (I. iv. 36),

"The dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of a doubt," &c.,

where for "of a doubt" he would read "oft adulter," was unanimously rejected, the explanation of "doth of a doubt," as meaning simply "puts into confusion," being considered satisfactory enough, though, if emendation were required, "often doubt," where *doubt* = *dout*, "put out," was preferred to the severely condemned "oft adulter." The turning of Prince Henry's epithet for Falstaff, "chewet" (*K. Henry IV*, V. i.), into "suet," and printing "Peace, suet, peace!" caused some amusement, "chewet" being well known in Wynkyn de Worde's and other carving and cookery books; Markham's recipe for "A chewet Pye" is at pp. 80, 81 of his *English Housewife;* and Mr Harrison also produced the following extract from Cotgrave: "*Goubelet* . . . a kind of little round pie resembling our 'chuet.'" "A chuet pie . . . Goubelet." And from Dyce (Glossary): "Chewet signifies here a sort of small pie or pudding made of minced meat fried in oil." In *K. Henry VIII*, IV. ii, Mr Grant White's argument for supporting Hanmer's change of "Tied (= bound, squeezed) all the kingdom" into "tithed" was not approved. His contention that "the two Frenchmen" in *All's Well*, III. i, were "manifestly envoys" was answered by Mr Stone's showing that their embracing of the Duke's quarrel, and receiving of commissions in his army, was quite inconsistent with the mission of envoys; they were the Lords G. and E. (the brothers Dumain) who took leave of the King in II. i.

M. Ziolecki then read a short paper on "Shakspere in Poland, Russia, and Servia," enumerating the translations and plays acted in Sclavonic countries, and showing that of these countries Poland had taken the lead in intelligent appreciation of the poet, and that tragedies appealed more than comedies to the genius and sentiment of the Sclavs.

Mr G. W. Rusden, of Melbourne, Victoria, spoke by request of the Chair on such study of Shakspere as he had observed to be going on in Australia.

(*Ninety-third Meeting, Friday, January* 11, 1884.)

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary laid before the meeting his statement of the Society's Income and Expenditure for the past year, audited, and a vote of thanks was passed to the hon. auditors, Mr F. D. Matthew and Mr E. Bell, for their kind services.

Mr S. L. Lee, Hon. Treasurer to the Society, read a paper upon *Love's Labour's Lost*. Mr Lee attributed the contemptuous neglect which the play had received at the hands of Hazlitt and the eighteenth-century commentators, to their indifference to the chronological method of Shaksperian study. Rightly judged to be a first essay in original dramatic work, as Coleridge was the first to regard

it, the literary merit of *Love's Labour's Lost* must be rated very high, and it illustrated Shakspere's youthful education, and his earliest conception of the relation that comedy should bear to contemporary life, so effectively as to make it invaluable to the student. There was a freshness of detail about the rustic scenes and characters that justified our treatment of them as reminiscences of the poet's country career. It gave us six village characters: Shakspere's schoolmaster, Thomas Hunt, as Holofernes; the curate, Sir Nathaniel; the constable, Dull; the clown, Costard; the dairymaid, Jaquenetta; and the forester. It gave us the country boy's games—"more sacks to the mill," "hide and seek," "push-pin," &c. As Mr Spencer Baynes had indicated, Holofernes' and Sir Nathaniel's dialogues were full of quotations from the Latin books in use at sixteenth-century grammar-schools, and proved a more intimate acquaintance with the system of the classical education of the day than the dramatist could have gathered elsewhere than from his own experience. Biron's speeches on lovers' perjuries were variations on a distinctly Ovidian theme. Portions of the comedy made it probable that Shakspere after his school-days was a reader of Rabelais, and was much influenced by the works of Sir Philip Sidney, whose advice in his *Apology* he follows. The current affectations of language were freely satirized; there was no vague parodying of Euphuism, but the bombastic periphrasis of his contemporaries, their scholastic pedantry, and love of alliteration and classical metres were each in turn mercilessly exposed. Turning to the plot of the comedy, Mr Lee showed that the "little Academe" was probably a playful criticism on the various schemes proposed in the sixteenth century for the restraint of youths from the vices in which, according to every Elizabethan writer, they indulged with dangerous persistency. It was noticeable that Frenchmen were made the typical slaves to the world's desires; perhaps because of the vicious influence ascribed to French intercourse at the time, but more probably because of the intricate relations existing between England and France—relations which gave the play the character of an historical extravaganza. The heroes, Navarre, Biron, Longaville, Dumain, and others, were named after the chief generals in the French civil wars, in which thousands of Englishmen, under Essex, the patron of the poets, were serving in 1591. The extant diary of one of Essex's companions in the campaign proves in what strangely careless diversions Marshal Biron and other French courtiers invited their English allies to engage amid death and disease and other horrors of war. It was doubtless this striking contrast that was hinted at in *Love's Labour's Lost.* It was shown how large a space French affairs occupied in English literature between 1589 and 1592; the chief characters were examined in the light of their living namesakes; it was stated how historical incidents in France and England probably suggested the interview in the play between the princess and Navarre, and the "Russian" episode, and how Armado was a whimsical portrait

of an eccentric frequenter of Elizabeth's court, Fantastico Monarco. In conclusion, Mr Lee urged the utmost care in comparing Shakspere's characters with historical personages, and he specially deprecated any theory that credited Shakspere with a particular partizanship.

A long discussion, by a full meeting, followed the paper, which was highly praised by all the speakers.

SCRAPS.

wit, whither wilt. As You Like It, IV. i. The run of the sentence seems to show that Rosalind is here quoting a known phrase. In Middleton's *More Dissemblers besides Women*, IV. i., the phrase "**wit, whither wilt thou?**" may be added to the three instances quoted by Steevens, and his notice of its occurrence more than once in Taylor the Water-poet as showing that it was a proverbial expression. Not improbably it and "Fortune, my foe" were phrases in popular songs.—B. N.

"*Ros.* His very hair is of the dissembling colours.
Cel. Something browner than Judas's.
3rd. Gossip. [He gave her.]
Now, by my faith, a fair high standing-cup,
And two great 'postle spoons, one of them gilt.
1st. Puritan. Sure that was Judas, then, with the red beard."—
Middleton. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, III. ii.
(Before 1619, not improbably before 1613.)

[Dyce says—after others—that Judas was represented in paintings and tapestries with red hair and beard; and Steevens gives an instance from *The Insatiate Countess* in loco, and in *M. Wives*, I. iv. Two others.]

Whist: The Tempest, I. ii. 378. It is perhaps unnecessary to give further instances of the use of this word, as it was in Shakspere's time not uncommon. But I adduce the following, because of the grave nature of the work in which they occur. In Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Hoby's translation of *Castilio's* [B. Castiglione's] *Courtyer*, published in 1561, though part at least was translated in 1556, we find in Sig. K. 2. v.: [Many noisily entered interrupting the discourse] "and when all was whist," &c. Again at Sig. I. i. 2—"Here when all was whiste; Sir Fridericke saide." And thirdly we have—"Here Bembo paused . . and when all things were whist M. Morello of Ortona said:" Sig. T. t. 3. v.[1]—B. N.

[1] We find it also in Greene's *Menaphon* in Melicutus' Eclogue, when he contends for the generalship with Menaphon:

"Be whist, be still, be silent Censors now."

(*Ninety-fourth Meeting, Friday, February* 8, 1884.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

Mr P. Z. Round and Mr F. Dally were announced as new members.

MISS GRACE LATHAM read a paper entitled "O poor Ophelia!" which is printed in full.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the discussion, held this paper to be the most delicate and thorough analysis of the character of Ophelia that had yet appeared. Miss Latham had taken, perhaps, a man's view, rather than a woman's, of Ophelia; judged by Helena's high standard, she failed miserably; but Miss Latham's judgment was the more reasonable and natural one, as justified by the points she had so well brought out, regarding Ophelia's bringing up and education. He himself found, in almost the first words of Ophelia, the key to her whole character. "I do not know, my lord, what I should think." That was it; she never seemed to know what she should think. He doubted whether, in the play-scene, there could be detected any attempt to shield Hamlet from danger.

REV. W. A. HARRISON commended several points in the paper; particularly that which suggested that Ophelia had been *watched* in her youth, and that of her extreme *caution*, a state of mind so very akin to insanity; without it she had really not enough substance in her mind to go mad.

MR T. TYLER thought that Miss Latham had hardly given Ophelia sufficient credit for the essentially female quality of *dissimulation;* perhaps this would explain Ophelia's apparent willingness to give Hamlet up; at any rate, the point was worth working out.

MR F. WEDMORE thought the paper a brilliant apology for a contemptible character. Other members also spoke.

DR F. DALLY attended with reference to a correspondence he had had with the Director about some relics of Shakspere in his possession which he wished to exhibit to the Society, the relics consisting of a carved oak table, and other pieces of wood-carving.

DR DALLY stated at some length the nature of the relics and the arguments for their genuineness, and produced rubbings of the carvings; and it was considered by the meeting, after careful attention to Dr Dally's statements, that he had made out a sufficiently strong case to warrant the Society in consenting to an exhibition of these relics at a future meeting; and Dr Dally undertook to put his notes into the form of a paper, to be read at the same time that the relics were laid before the Society.

Ninety-fifth Meeting, Friday, February 29, 1884.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

A PAPER on *Troilus and Cressida*, by G. B. Shaw, Esq., was read by Miss Latham. After a sketch of the story of the play, Mr. Shaw asked what attraction could so uncongenial a story have had for Shakspere? He held that Shakspere treated the story as an iconoclast treats an idol. He had long suspected Chapman and the ancient poets, and on reading Chapman's 'Iliad' saw he was right; and hence *Troilus and Cressida*. It was Shakspere's protest against Homer's attempt to impose upon the world, and against Chapman in upholding him. Shakspere, when he wrote this play, had ceased to believe in *Romeo and Juliet*, and in bullies like Petruchio and Faulconbridge; he had passed on to maturer work—to *All's Well* and *Much Ado;* he had written *Henry V.*, and achieved a great popular success, and had then asked himself, in weariness of spirit, was this the best he could do? Chapman's 'Homer' appeared, and he saw it was only his *Henry V.;* and it was to expose and avenge his mistake and failure in writing *Henry V.*, that he wrote *Troilus and Cressida*.

MR SHAW drew attention to Shakspere's treatment of the class of professional swordsmen, so common in his time. These had hitherto been caricatured by Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and others; Shakspere first saw the value of these paradoxes, and gave their several virtues in Ajax, Hector, &c. Hector was admirably just, wise, and magnanimous. Ulysses, eminently "respectable," imposed by his gravity on the rest, as he had imposed on his commentators, who had taken him to be "Shakspere drawn by Shakspere himself." Cressida, Mr Shaw thought most enchanting; Shakspere was indulgent to women, and he thought Cressida to be Shakspere's first real woman.

The question of the existence of an earlier drama on the same subject was to be considered. Was it some stock piece, founded on Chaucer, Lydgate, or Caxton, which was replaced by a new one on the same subject by Shakspere, which would not infringe on any one's rights, and possibly preserved some of the original characters, such as Pandarus? Certain lines looked like survivals from the old play. In conclusion, Mr Shaw, summing up, placed *Troilus and Cressida* between *Henry V.* and *Hamlet;* its date was 1600; it was a historical play; it was Shakspere's all but about twenty lines; and it was inspired by Chapman's 'Iliad.'

After the customary vote of thanks to both the writer and the reader of the paper—

The CHAIRMAN said that he could not agree with Mr Shaw as to the date of the play. It was an unsettled work of a transitional period, deserving careful attention. He held that it *was* a wise play, and a weighty one; and he placed it decidedly in the Third Period.

REV. W. A. HARRISON thought Mr Shaw right as to the date; 1598 to 1603 was the limit he would give.

MR T. TYLER, on the question of date, held that the play had a connection with Shakspere's own history; for about 1601, for some reason which we shall probably never know, Shakspere had got much out of humour with the world, as evidenced by certain of the *Sonnets*.

Other members spoke on the question of the date, and of the genuineness of certain parts of the play.

DR B. ZIOLECKI then read a paper on "Shakspere in Poland and Sclavonic countries," which is printed separately.

SCRAPS.

THE 26 PLAYERS OF SHAKSPERE'S COMPANY.

1.	*Armin*, Robert, ? dead by	1615.	Collier 201.
2.	*Benfield*, Robert, last heard of,	1647, p. 264.	
3.	*Bryan*, George, „ „	1600, p. 130.	
4.	*Burbadge*, Richard, bur[d]. 16 March,	1619, p. 49.	Will.
5.	*Condell*, Henry, bur. 29 Sept.	1627.	Will.
6.	*Cooke*, Alexander, bur. 25 Feb.	1614.	Will pr. May 4.
7.	*Cowly*, Richard, bur. 12 March,	1619.	
8.	*Crosse*, Samuell, ? alive	1612.	
9.	*Ecclestone*, William, alive 1622,	? 1652.	
10.	*Field*, Nathan, bur. 20 Feb.	1633.	
11.	*Gilburne*, Samuel,	after 1605.	
12.	*Goughe*, Robert, bur. 19 Feb.	1625.	
13.	*Hemmings*, John, bur. 12 Oct.,	1630.	Will pr. Oct. 11.
14.	*Kempe*, William, d. bef.	1609.	
15.	*Lowine*, John, bur. 18 March,	1659.	Admon. Oct. 8.
16.	*Ostler*, William, ? d.	1622.	
17.	*Phillips*, Augustine, May 4-12,	1605.	Will pr. May 13.
18.	*Poope*, Thomas,	1603-4.	Will pr. 13 Feb. 1604.
19.	*Rice*, John,	after 1622.	
20.	*Robinson*, Richard, bur. 23 Mar.	1647.	
21.	*Shakespeare*, William,	1616.	
22.	*Shancke*, John, bur. 27 Jan.	1635.	
23.	*Slye*, William, bur. 16 Aug.	1608.	
24.	*Taylor*, Joseph,	? 1653.	
25.	*Tooley*, Nicholas, bur. 5 June,	1623.	
26.	*Underwood*, John,	1624-5.	Will pr. Feb. 1, 1625.

'*Point of war*,' 2 *Henry IV*, IV. i. 52; '*Cargo, cargo, cargo!*' *All's Well*, IV. i. 71. '*The tucket sonance, and the note to mount:*' *Hen. V*, IV. ii. 35. '*Sennet*' or '*Senet*' (stage direction): end of *Hen. V*.

"The fift and laft Leſſon belonging vnto the Horſe troope, is to teach the Souldier the Sounds and Commands of the Trumpet. . . . . And of theſe Soundings (which we generally call **Poynts of Warre**) there are ſixe, which are moſt neceſſary for the Souldiers knowledge. The firſt is— 5 of th Trumpet

1. *Butte Sella*:—or— The firſt poynt of Warre
Clap on your Saddles . . .

The ſecond is,
2. **Mounte Cavallo**—or— The ſecond
Mount on Horſebacke . . . . .

The third is—
3. *Al 'a Standardo*,—or— The third
Goe to your Colours . . . . .

The fourth is,—
4. **Tucquet**,—or— The fourth
March . . . . .

The fift is,—
5. **Carga, Carga**,—or— The fift
An Alarum, Charge, Charge . . . . .

The ſixt and laſt is,—
6. *Auquet*,—or— The ſixt
The Watch.

"Which founded at night, Commands all that are out of dutie to their reſt; and founded in the morning, Commands thoſe to reſt that haue done dutie, and thoſe that haue reſted, to awake and doe dutie. . . . .

"Other Soundings there are; as *Tende Hoe*, for liſtning, a *Call* for Summons, a **Senet** for State, and the like. But they haue reference to the greater Officers, and thoſe haue no neede of my Inſtructions."

1625. G[ervase] M[arkham]. *The Souldiers Accidence*, p. 60-62.

and so they parted. M. of Venice, II. viii. *so she parted*, VIII.; IV. 1.

Seb. And so we parted. Middleton's *Roaring Girl*, II. ii.

On this Dyce remarks—"a quotation probably,"—and from these three instances I think that it had become a popular or kind of proverbial phrase.—B. N.

For 1882:

Series VI. *Shakspere's England*, 10. A Platinotype of the Stratford Bust of SHAKSPERE.*

Series VI. 12. Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, Part II: *The Display of Corruptions requiring Reformation*, A.D. 1583, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

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For 1883:

Series VI. *Shakspere's England*, 11, 13. A Cromo-foto-lithograf of SHAKSPERE's Monument in Stratford Church, printed by W. Griggs & Son.* A copy, by Dawson's Fotograving process, of the Droeshout [Drooz-howt] Portrait of SHAKSPERE.

Series II. *Plays.* 11. *Cymbeline:* a Reprint of the Folio, 1623, with collations by W. J. Craig, M.A.

Series II. 12. *The Old-Spelling Shakspere*, Vol. 1 of *The Comedies*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall and W. G. Stone. [*In the Press.*

For 1884:

Series VIII. *Miscellanies.* 3. A List of all the Songs and Passages in Shakspere which have been set to Music. Compiled by J. Greenhill, F. J. Furnivall, and W. A. Harrison: the Words in Old-Spelling, edited by F. J. Furnivall and W. G. Stone.

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* *See Note on second page of Wrapper.*

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